JPRS 76178

7 August 1980

West Europe Report

No. 1606

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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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PROBLEMS IN ACHIEVING SYMMETRICAL EAST-WEST STRATEGIC PARITY

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE in French No 7 Spring 80 pp 197-212

[Article by Pierre-M. Gallois:* "Lessons of Asymmetry in a Nuclear Weapons Arsenal"]

[Excerpts] [Abstract as published in English] No one is unaware that the differences between the Western democracies and the Soviet autocracy are many and deep-seated. But it does seem that the West neglects the political and military consequences of this asymmetry. It is from the East that every initiative comes, while the Western democracies make do with parrying or patching up the breaches as they can.

Militarily, in the age of the atom, the side having the initiative of the use of force holds a decisive advantage. It is enabled to disarm its adversaries from a great distance and by surprise, while they deploy conventional and localized forces that are easy to neutralize even before they know they are under attack.

But the asymmetry is not merely military. It is shown daily in the interpretation of the expressions the East

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* General of the Air Force (CR). Assigned to the Interallied General Staff where he studied long-range strategic plans. He has authored, among other publications: "La strategie de l'age nucleaire" [Strategy of the Nuclear Age], Calman-Levy, 1960; "Paradoxes de la paix" [Paradoxes of Peace], Presses du temps present, 1967; "L'Europe change de maitre" [Europe Changes Master], Ed. de l'Herne, 1972; "La grande berne" [The Big Blanketing (used here in its fun or hazing-game sense)], Plon, 1976; "L'adieu aux armees" [Farewell to Armies], Albin Michel, 1976; "Le Renoncement" [The Renunciation], Plon, 1977.

and West both use while giving them different meanings. For example, the word "detente" signifies in fact no more than a bright interval in the course of the cold war. Similarly, disarmament means the disarmament of other side.

For a long time now, the focal point of discussion has been solely that of "parity" between the American and Soviet strategic forces. This "parity" was supposedly reached halfway through the current decade and, from that point onward, the "balance" between the two powers has been altered. Of course, this notion of "parity" is based on a numerical comparison of the strategic weapons held by the Americans and Soviets. And because this "parity" has been reached, the foreign policy of the United States has become paralyzed in such and such a problem area, while that of the Soviet Union has become impunibly dynamic in such and such another region of the world where there is a confrontation. Such reasoning is based on a false evaluation of the notion of "parity."

The thinking of Western government leaders as we approach the end of this century, and in the nuclear cycle, would have been relevant 50 years ago at the latest, when military power still depended upon the accumulation of combatants and materiel and when the numerically superior side in these respects was virtually assured of victory over the other. There is no question that during some 60 centuries or so of organized warfare, numerical superiority has in most cases been decisive. But it makes no sense whatever today to project this ancient empiricism into the affairs of the contemporary world. Indeed, in this case, it has persuaded the power no longer holding the numerical superiority in weapons that it has become the weaker of the two. And the rival power, understanding the formidable change wrought by the passage from the conventional cycle to the nuclear cycle, has known how to profit from it.

Already in 1962, at the outcome of the Cuban crisis and under the most overwhelming inequality in strategic forces, Moscow had achieved its objectives: keeping Fidel Castro in Havana and obtaining from Washington a commitment not to undertake any future attack on Cuba. We know now that at that time the United States had deployed 15-18 times more weapons capable of striking Soviet soil than the USSR had capable of striking the continental United States. The disparity in arsenals did not prevent the numerically weaker power from solidly implanting a loyal ally at some 100 kilometers from the borders of its rival power. Thus, this inequality of weapons nevertheless contained a "parity."

To its allies, the United States was careful not to acknowledge this fact. It merely explained that the Soviet Union did not believe the Western forces could be the first to resort to mass-destructive weapons, and that hence the European allies must increase the number and effectiveness of their conventional contingents. To justify the effort involved, all

sorts of subtleties, conceived by brilliant economists turned strategists in the absence of jobs in their primary discipline, were placed before the European governments, which, dazzled, lined up quickly behind them. These were: the "flexible response" doctrine, the "pause" doctrine, electronic control of the new explosive, withdrawal of forward-based nuclear weapons--whereas the Warsaw Pact forces were increasing their numbers of the latter. It must be admitted that these "subtleties" surprised the East. To the Soviet general staff, prepared to follow step by step the evolution of weapons technologies and to base their doctrines upon them, they appeared to be those of a bygone era. Indeed, how could anyone believe that a power that would start an armed conflict in Europe would decline winning it in deference to the rules of a unilaterally proposed strategic game? The only rule an aggressor could apply to a war--and above all to that one--would be to win it. And by whatever means.

Contrariwise, 10 years later, the "parity" argument was "unveiled" to the Europeans. True, the Soviet ballistic panoply had attained impressive dimensions, comprising more missile launchers than that of the United States--although the latter's retained the advantage of being able to launch more missiles simultaneously toward enemy targets. However, the "parity" argument--this time numerically plausible and consequently intelligible to all--justified the United States's self-imposed constraints on its role as defender of the West and was intended to prod the European member countries of NATO into providing more on their own for the requirements of their own security. Governments, analysts and the media suddenly discovered as a new fact a strategic "parity" that had indeed long been obvious.

A Useless and Impossible Balance

The "balance of forces" is another one of those cream pies on which the West feeds for dessert almost daily. Naturally, this "balance of forces" is seen as a numerical balance. All the leaders who address matters of security, all the comparative tabulations frequently published by the press, all the works on the European military situation by the eperts harp on the same string: There must be a "balance of forces." And whenever, in the East, new weapons are put into service, everyone in the West proclaims the need to "balance" these new weapons and to thus restore the "balance of armed forces" stationed in Europe.

Addressing the Diplomatic Press Association on 6 February, Mr Couve de Murville said in substance: If there is danger of a conflict, it is not because of Afghanistan, but rather because of the nuclear weapons deployed in the old world. It is a matter that could call into question again the basis of the Russian-American peace founded on the balance of forces.

As always, the analysis by the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee was relevant. The accomplished fact in Afghanistan, unacceptable as it may be in words, will of course, like all the others, be accepted by the West. As regards the "balance of Forces" in Europe, two remarks stand out:

--This balance was upset more than 20 years ago;

--It is inconceivable that it will be restored; hence, whatever the West does, it will not be restored.

The balance upset? The Cuban crisis had hardly ended when the Americans withdrew the few missiles they had deployed in Great Britain, Italy and Turkey. Militarily, these missiles had no other merit than to compel the aggressor to destroy them preventively; that is, to kill the American specialists who manned them. The risk they represented was a serious one. And it was just before, during and immediately following the Cuban crisis that the Soviets, on the contrary, deployed 500 ballistic missiles--christened the SS 4 and SS 5 by NATO. These missiles were aimed solely at targets in Western Europe. Today, under a "modernization" program, ratified, moreover, by both powers at the conclusion of negotiations on a so-called strategic arms limitation, the Soviet Union is deploying new missiles (the SS 20)[5] supposedly intended to replace missiles some of which, like the SS 4, were conceived a quarter of a century ago. In the Western camp, this new weapon is fanning the emotion of governments and public opinion to a white heat. This emotion is not entirely unfounded, but of course Moscow pretends to be surprised by it.

The SS 20 is not destroying any balance, for the simple reason that such balance did not exist. For a long time now--almost 20 years--the countries of Western Europe have been resigned to living under the threat of ballistic weapons that have enormous destructive power and that moreover are unstoppable. For almost a quarter of a century now the European member countries of NATO have depended on the American strategic forces--that is, essentially, on means outside their continent and under the control of a capital some 5,000 kilometers away--to assure this "balance" which they cherish because in it they see their well-being. Everyone in Western Europe has nevertheless adjusted to this vulnerability to the blows that could be assesed it by the SS 4's and the SS 5's (and now the SS 20's and other "Backfires")[6], feeling secure as they contemplate the comparative figures on strategic forces in being, whereas these figures represent dissimilar quantities since they stem from doctrines, strategies and interests that are in no way comparable.

Soviet Monopoly of the Initiative

In reality, such an accounting is absurd. One sole fact is determinative: Neither the Western democracies as a whole within a military coalition, nor, a fortiori, any one or several of them separately, can or will ever

take the initiative in planning an aggression--conventional or nuclear--against the Soviet Union. Much less can they proceed to act and come to the stage of a test of strength on their own initiative.

It is clear in fact that, whatever may be the behavior of the Soviet Union, public opinion among the Western democracies will always opt for negotiation. If it appears to the democracies that the bounds of the acceptable have been exceeded, Moscow need only announce that it desires a dialog for that dialog to start immediately. The military stature of the Soviet Union and its cautiousness, but also its determination, can only lead to a seeming compromise and, finally, to acceptance of the accomplished fact.

Any and all initiatives that result in geographical map changes are up to the East. The West merely takes the blows that descend upon it, and half-parries those it can no longer take, blissful when it can come up here or there with but semi-defeats.

This asymmetry in the political and strategic situation of the two forms of society now confronting each other is militarily decisive.

Yesterday, during the era of wars of slow attrition in which the belligerents assessed each other blows ad infinitum, each limited in its impact but the sum of which, after years of confrontation, added up to a victory for one over the other, such an asymmetry was not determinative. The side initially on the defensive staggered under the impact of the aggressor's attack, but the duration of the battles permitted reversals in the situation and, after some months of fighting, the aggressor's advantage disappeared.

Today, when a single salvo, a single impact--the first--suffices to devastate everything, this no longer holds true, and the decisional initiative to make war or non-war decides also the military apparatus the attacker will need as well as the military apparatus that will be indispensable to the one being attacked. And these two apparatuses--doctrines, weapons, deployments, modes of use--are different.

Yesterday, also, since it was a matter of lining up soldiers and assembling masses of materiel of all kinds, preparations for war could not be covered up. For years in advance, armaments factories stocked the depots, and for weeks in advance, in plain view of everyone, the mobilization process shifted men and materiel around. One had to want to be surprised by the first attack--as we nonetheless were on 10 May 1940, although hostilities had been launched 9 months before.

In the East, Convergence of Doctrine and Weapons

Today, it is no longer necessary to activate arms factories or to mobilize a single man. A tiny fraction of the men and arms the big powers already maintain would suffice, without a prior sign of aggressivity, to destroy everything on earth that is fixed or of decisive military interest.

Since the initiative belongs to the East, the advantage of surprise also belongs to the other camp; ours can only sustain it, unsought by us to boot. Indeed, the commander of the French First Army was right when he said that he can hardly conceive of "...going from a state of general peace on Pentecost Saturday into a sudden outpour of advancing Soviet tanks and divisions."[7] It is in fact hardly possible to reconcile the unfurling of an array of tanks and planes--above all if used in mass--with the element of surprise. Furthermore, neither the example of the surprise attack by the Israeli's against Egypt in June 1967, nor even that of the Egyptians when they overran, without warning, the Bar-lev line held by the Israelis in October 1973, can at all be applied to the Central European sector. But precisely because the Central European sector is where it is on the map, the Red Army itself would enter into action, and in this case the instruments of an attack, if it is to exploit the element of surprise, could not be either tanks or planes, but definitely missiles like the SS 20. Hence the uneasiness of the governments of the European member countries of NATO. This is the doctrine that has moreover already been enunciated by the Soviet high command--and summarized by Marshal Gretchko himself in his time. The tank is no longer the weapon of the offensive--the "unrolling tank wave" was 40 years ago--but the weapon of occupation of a territory that has previously been disarmed from a distance, and the weapon that will be needed to sustain "suitable" political regimes after the victory.

What is disquieting--to a certain extent--is that we have now reached, in 1980, the point of convergence between the Soviet army's combat doctrine--as it has been unfolded at great length in official publications--and the weapons in the course of being deployed.[8] And /Initiative, Surprise, and New Weapons [printed in italics and initial caps]/ more accurate than those they replace are the three panels of a triptych that is the exclusive property of the East, the first two of which will remain indefinitely its prerogatives. This is why the asymmetry is total between the two political and military arrays that confront each other in Europe.

A Grand Design Confronted by Petty Preoccupations

The political and social asymmetry is a generally accepted fact. On the one hand, a kind of autocracy sustained by a collegial leadership, by a public opinion kept out of the decision-making process (and even more so out of the implementation process), and by a carefully thought-out and firmly --though prudently--applied doctrine, and staffed by men long experienced in the conduct of its affairs and vested with a power of decision and action unto themselves. Around the "citadel," over a vast geographical expanse, different ethnoses and once-sovereign nations assembled into a single sociopolitical cult, firmly kept on the good road by police constraints and armed power, but ably manipulated and monitored from on high to convey the illusion of a decentralization and full exercise of responsibilities at the local level. Seen from the outside, a "closed" society that believes or pretends to believe itself beleaguered on all sides.

On the one hand still, a clear asymmetry in regard to long-range strategic views. Manifestly, the Soviet Union is driven by a grand design--that of extending to the rest of the world a political and social system judged by it to be superior to all others. The USSR aims to achieve this by all suitable means, but cautiously and limiting its risks.

On the other hand and confronting it, a vast mosaic of nations of advance peoples who express themselves freely, sometimes quite authoritatively, to influence the conduct of affairs in accordance with their desire of the moment, and of many and diverse leaderships representing all or almost all political persuasions and at all times catering to the whims of the electorate--in short, a heteroclite assemblage of numerous decision centers, all indecisive and frequently opposed to each other by way of conflicting interests. An "open" society, humane but ill-equipped to resist enemy forces. The fact is that in the West no Messianism exists of any sort whatever; no long-range design motivates its leaders and peoples, who are content to settle, domestically, for fulfillment, for better or for worse, of the needs of the present, and, abroad, for patching up the cracks when they appear.

Security Through Permanent Mobility

These political, social, and even geostrategic, asymmetries are commonly known. The military asymmetry is not, at least in Europe. In the United States, it is taken into account: Nearly 80 percent of the American strategic-reprisal nuclear missiles are permanently mobile--or potentially so thanks to the alert-interval provided by its rival power's remoteness. Some $40 billion will be spent to raise this mobility factor to 100 percent. It is to this end that the MX missile is now being brought into reality. The United States fears a surprise attack. The Soviet Union does not, knowing very well that it is inconceivable that a democracy would resort to it.

In Europe, this military asymmetry means that neither the concept of war, not the weapons of war--in nature and deployment--nor the degree of alertness can be the same on one side of the Iron Curtain as on the other. This is why the notions of "numerical balance" and "parity" of forces in being have lost their meaning. Those who reason in these terms reason as they legitimately could have a quarter-century ago. There can be no comparison between a military disposition that can, without the least warning, be the first to strike, and one that, to avert such a threat, must permanently shrink from aggression.

Western Europe seems to ignore this self-evident truth. Thus, by their statements, the governments of the NATO European member countries convey the impression that the deployment in Europe of the American Pershing 2 missiles will "balance" the Soviet SS 20 missiles. The fact is that the Soviets can easily move their new missiles around in the solitary vastnesses east and northeast of the capital. It is hard to imagine the

the Pershing 2's, equipped with their nuclear warheads, circulating permanently about the Western European urban zones, beginning with those of the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany]. And if the nuclear warheads of these missiles are stored in depots, they will be the first targets of the aggressor.

The Soviets, on the other hand, are playing their game relying upon our illusions. They are protesting the installation of these missiles on Western European soil on the basis that they see in it a violation of the bilateral SALT agreements, in that a certain number of their military bases would be within range of this new form of threat. For there actually to be a threat, however minimal numerically, the United States must be the aggressor, must assume the initiative of carrying the first strike, and in doing so must have the advantage of total surprise. This is more than a mere classroom hypothesis.

For years now, negotiations have been under way in Vienna on a an eventual reduction of the armed forces deployed in Europe by NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Based on the search for a certain "balance" between armed forces that must perforce be dissimilar because they do not have the same functions, these negotiations cannot end up strengthening the security of the Western European countries that are taking part in them.

Western Terminology and Soviet Realities

But this asymmetry is not solely political, geographic, social and strategic. It is also one of terminology.

The terminology that has been in use on this side of the world for the past half-century or so in dealing with matters of disarmament or of arms limitation must be revised. Or rather: adjusted to achieve a real correspondence between the meanings of the terms in the East and the West, as well as to take into account all the asymmetries pointed out above.

It is now conventional to state that there can be no effective disarmament agreement without provisions for monitoring it. Disarmament and the monitoring of it are, in our view, indissolubly linked. It is understood that the first of these two terms must always be accompanied by the second. But no one has yet raised the question of how the effectiveness of monitoring of a "closed" society like that consisting of the Eastern European countries can be made equal to that of the "open" society that is made up of the democratic countries of the West.

The advent of mass-destructive weapons has now made such monitoring even more impracticable--even assuming it could be contemplated. Yesterday, the least knowledgeable of informants could count the warships in a harbor, evaluate the firepower of armored or mechanized divisions, or count the

combat planes in their airdromes. And the analysts could deduce from the steel production figures of the Ruhr the eventual military potential of the Third Reich. But today, it has become possible to store in a very small space a formidable destructive potential. Long-range ballistic missiles By the hundreds can be assembled and stockpiled in underground bins of ordinary dimensions. A commonplace hangar can conceal from the "view" of the most sophisticated spy satellites dozens and dozens of cruise missiles, etc. Many other similar examples could be cited.

Even by vast means (combining satellites of different types, ground radars and ship radars, radio monitoring stations and ...conventional secret agents by the thousands), monitoring the technostrategic activities of the Soviet Union has proven vastly less than adequate. For dozens of years now and despite their formidable array of detection, listening, deciphering and data interpreting facilities, the Americans have been systematically "surprised" by the new achievements of the leaders of the "closed" society.

Thus, the SALT agreements signed on 26 May 1972 by Mr Brezhnev and Mr Nixon have been violated many times over by the East, or "interpreted" in accordance with Soviet interests--to the astonishment of the American experts, who had not understood the meaning of the terms of these agreements in the same sense the Russians found it convenient to accord to them.

Worse yet: When the monitoring facilities did work and the unilateral "interpretations" the Soviets had accorded to the terms of the agreements were discovered, it was the American government itself that covered up the infraction--or excused it--so as not to lose face with its own public opinion. True, that government had, in this regard, justified in advance the policy it intended to pursue during the negotiations. And it had so many times affirmed that the well-being of the United States depended on the signing of such an agreement that it subsequently had no alternative but to accept the terms of that agreement, however contrary they might be to the nation's interest. On the other side of the table, there was nothing of the kind. The responsible officials there had neither to have their policy approved in advance, nor to justify their actions, nor to seek an electoral mandate.

Detente: An Amicable Phase of Soviet Expansion

Another expression that suffers from East-West situational asymmetry: "detente", the famous "detente," which has been sacrificed to for over 20 years, in words and in deed. It has even found Western leaders to declare that "there is no other alternative to detente but war." Read here a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, with the specter of the atom thrown in. The term is devoid of any meaning. It is not the format of relations between East and West called "detente" that

has prevented war and imposed, if not a state of peace, at least one of non-war, but rather the nature of the weapons held simultaneously by the two big powers. So much so, that, as long as these weapons remain what they are, their relations can go through all the degrees on the thermometer without there being a war between them. And the East's incontestable superiority over the West has been that of knowing this.

For our part here, we have had to recall wh· exactly was the origin of this expression that passes for a policy. "Detente" is the outcome of a technomilitary fact: From the moment the Americans and Soviets were able to deploy nuclear missile-launching submarines (and as long as these submarines cannot all be located and destroyed at one and the same time), it has been necessary (and will be necessary) to forgo a direct test of strength that would place either of the parties before an inescapable choice between two equally unacceptable alternatives: to back down from the other, or to "escalate" the dangerous steps of an increasing violence, which could only end with their both taking crushing blows from weapons that had not been previously neutralized, simply because because the origin of the blows could not be located.

At that point, a direct confrontation between the Americans and the Russians became inconceivable. Each of the two governments could easily foresee the consequences of a test of strength even if it were to start out on the basis of very feeble exchanges.

This is how the East understood "detente." It was simply a word that summed up a technomilitary reality. No direct confrontation, not even over Berlin, the only point in the world where the two combatants are in actual contact. As for the rest of it: freedom of maneuver and "business as usual."

The governments of the Western democracies have given to the word "detente" a much broader sense, to mean a change of attitude. In this sense, neither the Prague coup, nor that of Budapest would appear in a new edition. There would neither be another Berlin blockade nor any incident in the access corridors to the former capital of Germany. This, in their view, could be the only interpretation of "detente." In short, Moscow would henceforth hew to a conduct conforming to the concepts--and the interests--of the West. Such behavior by the Soviets would be so advantageous to the West that everything must be done to keep "detente" alive. Thus, neither Egypt's military preparations nor Syria's in 1966/1977, nor the bringing to heel of Czechoslovakia in 1968, nor the logistical support provided to Hanoi, nor the preparations for the "Yom Kippur War," nor the massive movement of advisers and war materiel to Angola, then to Ethiopia, nor the installation of bases in Yemen and in the Seychelles, nor the renewal of support to Vietnam, could budge the Western governments. It was "detente" above all. It became necessary for Soviet tanks to be deployed in an

effort to restore order in Afghanistan before the veil could be torn from Western eyes and their cries of indignation heard from all quarters. Obviously, it was now the Kremlin's turn to be surprised. It had taken 20 years of clear evidence for the Western governments to suddenly understand the Soviet definition of the word "detente"... and to reject it. At least for the time being.

In sum, an East-West dictionary that defines precisely the meanings of words is needed. The West would finally perceive that the phraseology that has been used to satiety for nearly half a century has aged considerably, and that it is time to change it. Many illusions would thus be dispelled. And perhaps the worst could be averted.

FOOTNOTES

1. McGeorge Bundy: "To Cap the Volcano," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, October 1969.

2. Proportionate and minimum deterrence: Deployment of a number of mass-destructive weapons that represents a destructive potential approximately equivalent to the value of France as a stakes, as a potential aggressor might be expected to evaluate it. Have, therefore, the smallest arsenal capable of sufficient destruction to make it preferable not to provoke its use.

3. This was the so-called massive retaliation doctrine on which the Europeans have written many counter-truths. It was not a question of unleashing atom bombs over Soviet cities at the first movement of Soviet troops toward the West, but of discouraging any aggression in Europe by letting it be understood that the attacking forces would be "atomized" immediately upon manifesting their aggressive intent. The Dulles doctrine neither said--nor implied--anything else.

4. Clause Witz: "Who Mentioned Flexibility?", AIR FORCE MAGAZINE, Mar 1964.

5. The SS 20 (NATO code name). Mobile land-launched missile, consisting of two stages of propulsion (dry propellant) of the SS 16 three-stage missile. Range 3,500-5,000 kilometers. The SS 20 launches three independently targeted warheads, each of a power adapted to the size of the target and its "armor."

6. The "Backfire" (NATO code name) or TU 26. Twin-engined jet bomber with 120-ton takeoff capacity, an operational radius of 8,000 kilometers (if not air-refueled), and a maximum speed twice that of sound. Each engine has a thrust of around 20 tons. The plane was designed in 1968-1970. It is mass-produced.

7. Interview with Gen Claude Vanbremeersch by reporter from L'AURORE (issue of Monday 4 March 1980).

8. "Tactical missiles represent the basic firepower of the ground forces. These missiles are capable of striking any target up to several hundred kilometers away, with extreme accuracy and using nuclear warheads. These weapons are now perfected. Work is now proceeding on increasing their range and accuracy." Marshal Gretchko, 1974.

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STABILITY OF BELGIAN FRANC DEPENDS ON WEST GERMAN DM

Brussels LE SOIR in French 22-23 Jun 80 p 8

[Article by Pierre Effinier]

[Text] Every time the Belgian franc has experienced a crisis in recent years, the mark has been involved. Every time, that currency was a candidate for revaluation because the German mark was the strongest money in Europe and because along with other European currencies, it served as a reference.

Every crisis of the franc has ended, in recent years, with a revaluation of the mark.

As a result, one can no longer count the investors who, persuaded of the irrevocable continuation of that trend, have purchased marks as an investment, usually in the form of bonds payable in that currency.

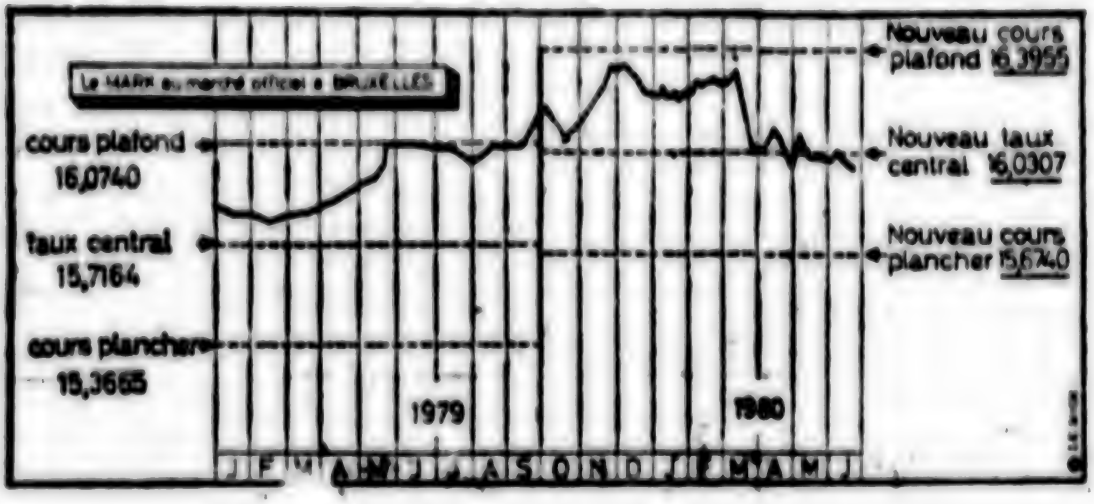
This operation has been profitable. From 1970 to 1980, the mark increased 20 percent compared with the Belgian franc, or 2 percent yearly, added to the gross or net yield of the bonds in question, depending on whether or not their interest was encumbered by taxes.

Six months ago, the mark was still being extolled and everyone at the Stock Exchange imagined that it was one of the best shelters against inflation and against modifications in exchange rates. And yet, even when everyone seemed to be of one voice, there were still those in financial circles who thought that when one type of investment has become so widespread, it is time to look elsewhere.

Those who made such investments in marks 6 months ago were certainly not ruined, but to say that their move was brilliant would be exaggerated.

The table below is quite eloquent. In September 1979, the mark was revaluated 2 percent compared with the Belgian franc and as one can see, the German mark initially tended to exploit the possibility offered of rising even further on the Brussels Exchange.

And then, the reverse was true. The mark dropped and continued to drop so far that today, it is as if the German mark had never been revaluated in September 1979.



Key:

1. The mark on the official market in Brussels
2. Ceiling rate
3. Middle rate
4. Bottom rate
5. New ceiling rate
6. New middle rate
7. New bottom rate

What can one deduce from this? That the mark is not as good, naturally. That it has evolved in an unexpected fashion? That its future is in doubt? Perhaps, but that is less certain. That it is cheap? This is undoubtedly the most correct diagnosis that one can make at the time being concerning that currency. In other words, to buy marks or bonds in marks seems logical at the present time.

How did we come to this situation? Is the Belgian franc so powerful that it forced the mark to go down on its knees before it? Obviously, nothing of the sort is true. The relative weakness of the mark is shown vis-a-vis all European currencies and vis-a-vis all the currencies in the European monetary system. Let us say that the currency that was once the strongest in Europe has seen its exceptionally firm position of recent years give way to a more vulnerable trend. This is so true that along with the lira, the mark is the currency that has the highest rate of decline compared with all the other currencies included in the coat of arms, that in recent months, the mark has enjoyed rather gloomy prospects compared with all the currencies involved -- that is, the Belgian franc, the Luxembourg franc, the florin, the French franc, the Italian lira, the Irish pound and the Danish crown.

Why this relative weakness of the mark?

The explanation can be given in a few words.

For some 6 months, the German economy has no longer been able to absorb or totally cushion the shock of oil price increases. Previously, productivity (in particular) had been able to compensate for the increase in the cost of products imported into the Federal Republic.

(This is the opposite of the Belgian situation, characterized from the time of the first oil crisis in 1973 by a deterioration in foreign payments.)

In other words, Germany has watched its current balance of payments become negative, a phenomenon which Belgium experienced as early as 1976. It is the same phenomenon, only 4 years later.

While the prediction of a deficit at the very beginning of this year amounted, for Belgium, to a (modest?) figure of 150 billion for 1980, the corresponding figure issued by the Federal Republic of Germany is over 20 billion marks, a moderate figure for the German economy, perhaps, but one that nevertheless represents the end of an era.

From a national viewpoint, one is often tempted in Belgium to emphasize the counterperformance of our foreign payments. This week, there were those at the Brussels Exchange who were still speaking about the current "unnatural" firmness of the Belgian franc. An increase in the Belgian franc compared with other currencies at a time when our balance of payments is deteriorating is actually surprising, at first sight.

Naturally, efforts now being made in the direction of a rehabilitation of government finances may bring about a positive effect on the foreign exchange market from which our currency has undoubtedly profited in recent months.

But the best help for the franc is without a doubt that which is the misfortune of other economies: the deficits in payments that are growing in an impressive fashion in France and the Federal Republic of Germany.

On the exchange market, everything is relative. If all the economies are penalized, currencies have less reason to depreciate or appreciate compared with one another.

The counterpart of these European and American payment deficits is naturally the petrodollars that are going to flow to the coffers of the producer countries. Those countries are certainly registering successive windfalls. But since their currency is only local and can only be used at home, meaning that foreign payments must be made in dollars, one has the curious impression that deficits in payments have almost lost their influence on the exchange rates of the industrialized countries' currencies.

11,464
CSO: 3100

BELGIUM PROVES FERTILE GROUND FOR EAST BLOC ESPIONAGE

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD in Dutch 21 Jun 80 p 13

[Article by Luc van Waes: "Fear of Economic Reprisals -- Belgium Prefers To Leave Spies Alone"]

> [Text] Belgium is overrun with spies from the Eastern bloc. About 150 Soviet citizens are active for the Soviet Union alone. In addition, there are about 100 colleagues from other East European countries, specifically from the German Democratic Republic and from Czechoslovakia. This main body of 250 spies engages not only in military, but also in economic and industrial espionage. We received these figures from the Belgian State Security Service (counterintelligence) and from the NATO Intelligence Service. But they are not absolute figures. The East European spy network also employs an unknown number of occasional contributors, tipsters and employees in a number of vital industries. Counterintelligence estimates their number at at least "a few hundred." An employee of the State Security Service in Brussels said: "The figures you want to publish are still on the low side. It may well be that a great deal more is going on."

Since the establishment of the European Communities [EC] in Belgium, the headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in Brussels and Casteau, and because of the presence of important industries (among which numerous multinationals), such as weapons and airplane plants in Liege, Bruges and Gosselies (FN [National Foundaries] and Sabca), electronic equipment (ITT in Antwerp), the country has become a magnet for spy services from Eastern Europe.

In the headquarters of the Russian Secret Service [KGB] in Moscow, for example, in room 122 on the second floor, there is an 8 by 14 meter wall map of Belgium. It is a map NATO could be jealous of. It includes pretty much everything that Belgium has to offer in terms of "military spoils": the NATO nerve center in Evere with specific designations of the most secret

areas, the military headquarters of NATO in Casteau with full details about underground areas and their purpose, the places where nuclear shelters are being built, the port of Antwerp and the "from a military point of view attractive" possible landing sites along the Belgian coast, the vital roads, road junctures, bridges and viaducts, the military bases, the nuclear warheads arsenal in Kanne (5 kilometers from Maastricht) which is located at a depth of 30 meters under a thick layer of limestone, two possible locations for setting up the new NATO missiles, among which the "Kleine Brogel," some 20 industrial objectives -- which would have to be immediately eliminated in case of a possible war with the West -- located in or near Brussels, Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Liege, Charleroi and Mons.

The presence of this map in the KGB building in Moscow was divulged by a defecting KGB officer. The ma., whose identity is still being kept a secret, recently said in Brussels that East Bloc spies can be found among correspondents from TASS and NOVOSTI, two news agencies which operate in the Belgian capital, but also in the ranks of IZVESTIA and PRAVDA reporters in Brussels, as well as among embassy personnel, commercial attaches and officials of mixed Belgian-Russian or purely Russian companies in Belgium.

Belgian counterintelligence and the NATO Intelligence Service do not conceal the fact that the interest of Soviet spies in Belgium has significantly increased over the last 4 months. And yet, both services had succeeded less than 10 years ago in dealing a heavy if not decisive blow to Soviet espionage in Brussels. In 1971, Brussels expelled no less than 32 Soviet spies, when a defector -- telegraph operator Anatoly Tsebotarev -- from the Russian trade mission in the Belgian capital, gave the Belgians a list with the names of these spies.

A spokesman for the State Security Service now says: "They may have been dismayed, but not overcome. Within 4 years they built up a new spy network. Very ingenious. They brought people to Brussels who had won their spurs in Peking, in Laos and in Hanoi. We never mention names, but they can be found in the highest echelons of their embassy on De Fre Avenue and in the companies which they have established here or control..."

As a matter of fact, the Soviet spies in Belgium all have a good cover for their activities. Embassy secretary, adviser, commercial attache, but also simply worker for a Russian or joint Russian-Belgian company. One of these companies is the Transworld Marine Agency, set up in Antwerp in 1969 by KGB officer Vladimir Borisovitch Kruglyakov. Two years later, this senior spy, who had already made himself useful in Washington and Bonn, was unmasked as a spy and expelled from Belgium. The Transworld Marine Agency is managed by a number of Soviet Russian shipping companies and the Belgian group "Belgian Bunkering."

When its manager was caught for espionage, Transworld wanted to make a good will gesture toward the Belgian authorities and ordered 2,500 containers from Belgian industry for Transsiberian transportation. At the present time, Transworld has offices in all important Benelux ports as well as in Munich, Dusseldorf and Frankfurt.

Penetration

Transworld is a textbook example of the Soviet Union's striving to penetrate in the West as a maritime superpower. Since Transworld established itself in Antwerp, four times as many Russian ships have entered the Antwerp harbor as before, and their number is still growing. Currently, 25 percent of the cargo traffic in Antwerp is already in Russian hands.

Other Soviet companies which were established in Belgium, are NAFTA B, Ferchmimex (ore, salt and fat) and Elorg Belgium, which specializes in Russian electronic equipment and computers. Finally, there is Russelmaz for the importation of and trade in Russian diamonds. This company started on a very modest scale, but is now already considered a big power within the Antwerp diamond sector. The above mentioned company NAFTA B started with an initial capital of less than 200,000 guilders and has meanwhile grown into one of the most important fuel distribution companies in the port of Antwerp. It is unbelievable but true: NAFTA B supplies the bulk of the fuel for the NATO tanks...!

At first sight, all these Russian companies are simply carrying on trade. But beneath the surface, there is a good deal going on in terms of espionage and other activities. Transworld supports communist and subversive groups in the West, such as certain leftist groups which are active against nuclear energy and the missile plans of NATO. Thus, Transworld recently turned over the sum of 2 million guilders to the Portuguese Communist Party. This is not a crime in and of itself. In the past, Portuguese socialists and Christian democrats have also received aid from like minded souls in the West. But Transworld has officially denied this aid and still stoutly maintains that it no longer engages in political and similar activities.

But the facts disprove this: it is a fact that Transworld, through the intermediary of a large Belgian bank -- which has admitted the transaction -- transferred 2 million guilders to the private account of Soviet citizen Vitaly Lyuti at the Banco Portugues do Atlantico in Lisbon. And Vitaly Lyuti is not just a Soviet citizen. He is an agent of the KGB and works for the Portuguese shipping company Pinto Basso. At the same time, he is also in the service of Sovinflot in Moscow, the official Russian state agency which plans, escorts and supervises the activities of all Russian shipping agents outside the Soviet Union. And, to close the circle: Sovinflot is the major shareholder of the Transworld Marine Agency in Antwerp. Therefore, Vitaly Lyuti's presence is often required in Antwerp. Usually, the man then stays at the Waldorf Hotel. Transworld pays his bill. In the beginning, Vitaly Lyuti met fairly often with Transworld founder Kruglyakov, but following the latter's unmasking by Belgian counterintelligence, Vitaly Lyuti also took it easier. Yet, in recent weeks he has been reported in Liege and Antwerp.

The Belgian State Security Service admits that, following the mass expulsion of Soviet spies in 1971, they received an order from higher up to handle East Bloc espionage "with kid gloves" in the future. A staff member

in counterintelligence said: "Within a week after the expulsion of the group we were told directly by the cabinets of the prime minister and of the minister of foreign affairs, that the Soviets had threatened economic reprisals against the Belgian economy. That was a great pity because we were just about to trap Mister Vitaly Lyuti. Friendly services (read: the NATO Intelligence Service) had tipped the Belgians off about the fact that Lyuti was up to more than conducting trade. Namely, Lyuti regularly received fellow KGB spies at the Soviet Embassy in Brussels, and not only to drink vodka. He was then given a report about the various espionage activities, and Lyuti then regularly took a trip to Moscow with, in his luggage, the necessary diplomatic mail -- which we would damn well have liked to examine."

Operation Hush Up, surrounding five Belgian officers who, for 10 years, gave away NATO and Belgian defense secrets to East German and later to Soviet agents, must also be seen against the background of Soviet threats against the Belgian economy -- the possible annulment of an agreement concerning the supply of nuclear fuel (1300 tons) to Belgium between 1979 and 1985 and a Russian steel order in Belgium of 2.3 million tons. The matter was covered up with the cloak of love, because its publication would have created a public scandal and would have prevented Belgian counterintelligence [SDRA] from exposing as yet undiscovered branches of the spy network. "Indeed, one soldier who duplicates secret documents could be more important to a foreign power than a high ranking officer who has read them completely but is totally silent about them," commented a staff member of Belgian counterintelligence.

All this may possibly also be the reason why the Belgians are not raising a hand against the Russian automobile company Scaldia-Volga in Diegem, which is adjacent to the terrain of the NATO headquarters where Secretary General Joseph Luns wields the scepter. In addition to being a sales center for cars, the company also functions as a listening and observation post for everything that takes place next door. Until recently, Scaldia-Volga had a whole set of antennas on its roof to listen in on NATO, but, following a discreet but resolute action, they were taken down after one of the company's salesmen, Boris Trofimosits Savits, was discovered in a restaurant in the neighborhood of Scaldia-Volga, in possession of photographic equipment and films which left nothing to be desired in terms of clarity. In addition, the unfortunate Russian also had instructions from Moscow, which counterintelligence and later NATO thankfully relieved him of. The Belgians would have preferred to expel another staff member of Scaldia-Volga, Alexei Sitserbakov, for espionage.

A staff member of counterintelligence said: "We possess indications that a goodly number of the expelled spies have returned to Belgian soil under a false name and with a somewhat altered appearance. Specifically, in recent months the activities of the East Bloc informants have been directed toward industrial activities in Belgium. Specifically, they are very interested in the electronics and weapons plant FN in Herstal, near Liege."

The engine of NATO's most advanced and sophisticated fighter plane, the American F-16, is being produced in quantity at Herstal. Counterintelligence refused to tell us anything about rumors that all the particulars of this engine have already fallen into Soviet hands. The only thing they were willing to say was: "They are very interested in it."

Within NATO, a few cases of espionage have also been discovered in the last few years. For the most part they are not brought to the attention of the public. Two cases had to be admitted. The one concerned senior secretary Ursel Lorenzen, who at the beginning of 1979 bade farewell to NATO headquarters in order to disappear into the GDR with her East German lover, and the other concerned Imelda Verrept, who did the same thing with her East German friend and spy Wieland Gludowacs. Frau Lorenzen (security rating "Atomal") does seem to have passed useful information to the GDR, but Imelda Verrept was a typist and her security rating was "only" "cosmic-Top-secret." Both of them were used for propaganda purposes against NATO on East German television, but they were probably not able to provide the East Germans and Russians with much more than a few particulars about the NATO jigsaw puzzle.

Since then, every new NATO personnel member has been screened by several services, which operate independently from each other, whether it is a high ranking member of the military or a cleaning lady.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 13

On the left bank of the Scheldt, in Antwerp, hermetically closed off from the outside world, there is a Russian sports and recreation center, eagerly used by the diplomatic personnel from the Soviet Union's embassy and consular divisions in Belgium as well as by Russian seamen, above a certain rank, who call at Antwerp. The "bosses" of the Russian shipping companies are also regulars. The Belgian State Security Service has every reason to believe that more is being tackled here than mere sports. This sports center could eminently be a place where spies of all sorts regularly meet.

8463
CSO: 3105

LIBYA FINALLY FREES BELGIAN TECHNICIANS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 4 Jul 80 p 2

Article by G. DT.: "The Belgian Technicians Imprisoned for the Past Nine Months in the Libyan Desert Have Finally Returned to Belgium"]

[Text] An agreement was finally reached to free the Belgian technicians detained in the middle of the Libyan desert over the past nine months.

Four of them reached Brussels Tuesday evening. Two Belgians are still detained at the Tripoli Airport for administrative reasons. It is hoped, however, that they will be quickly "liberated."

This marks the end of a difficult story which, alas, is revealing in more than one sense of the misadventures which could occur to personnel of European companies working on projects in a developing country without having all the necessary possibilities for their successful completion.

"It was very hard," says Mr Onselis. "We were 1,200 kilometers south of Tripoli, in the middle of the desert, 60 kilometers away from the nearest village. The temperature was close to 50 degrees centigrade in the shade. Above all, for three months we had been left to idle. We could neither return to Belgium nor go on working.

"The 11 European cadres and 80 other workers were truly prisoners of the sand. There were no books, television, or beer. Our only entertainment was bowling, playing cards, and walks along the dunes. The workers were getting more and more irritated.

"Coming from 15 different countries (Pakistan, India, Sudan....) they wanted to go back to their families. They would have resigned for the sake of going home but were as blocked as we were.

"In our small village of trailers and huts the situation would have become explosive without Joseph De Wilde, an engineer from Laarne who, with his calm and optimism, managed to prevent confrontations."

What Led To This Situation?

It all started with a contract won by Ugha, a Franco-Belgian consortium: the laying of 360 kilometers of road between Oubari and Ghat. "This was a contract for 1.2 billion Belgian francs. It was an easy project and no work of art," says Dorcean, one of the executives in charge of the project as of August 1979.

The work started two years ago. Soon afterwards, however, the Ugha Company and Semlin, its Belgian partner, became short of funds for going on with the work and meeting the payroll. "Ten percent of the contract had been paid in advance by the Libyans," says Dorcean. Ugha took the money but could it carry out the contract?"

The work went on for several months while debts to Libya piled up. An effort was made to talk a Portuguese company into taking over the contract but this failed. The Belgians were to work eight weeks and spend two weeks at home. However, at the end of last year, when they asked to go back to Belgium, the Libyan government refused them exit visas. They would be allowed to return only if all debts and taxes had been paid.

According to Libyan law, furthermore, foreign citizens must spend a certain share of their salary locally. Since they had not been paid, they could not do so.

Soon the work came to a complete stop. This marked the beginning of a long waiting period. "The Libyans were quite decent. They lent us money to buy our food. Our movements were not restricted."

However, the situation worsened rapidly. "Our two bosses took frequent trips to Tripoli. They enjoyed the use of a house and the pleasures of the sea," testified Onssens. "Absolutely not," Dorcean retorted. "We traveled there in order to negotiate a solution acceptable to all. This was a very hard negotiation and Belgian help was quite slow to come," he specified.

Two Belgian technicians were badly hurt in a traffic accident and were repatriated by the Red Cross.

In Belgium the situation of the families was no better.

In addition to the quite understandable anguish, no more money was coming in. "My wife had to register with the Social Aid Center," Onseels specified.

Finally, the negotiations between the Belgian and Libyan governments were concluded. Visas were granted against a payment of 15 million Belgian francs. However, another surprise awaited them at the Tripoli Airport: Two Belgians were unable to leave. Belgium must first pay off

the last of the money loaned for the continuation of the project (payments to Libya for materials) as well as the money loaned by the Libyans for the purchasing of food and beverages.

Negotiations are still taking place. Onssens has mentioned the additional sum of 20 million Belgian francs.

"It was an interesting experience," he concluded, "which might benefit a number of people. He is owed 10 months' worth of wages and has no right to unemployment benefits (he did not register on time, yet how could he do it?!. All that is left to Onssens is to read the classified ads. . . .

9157
CSO: 3100

ECONOMICS MINISTER CLAES COUNSELS MODERATION TO AVERT DISASTER

Brussels LE SOIR in French 8 Jul 80 pp 1-2

[Article: "Mr Claes' Diagnosis: General Moderation or Financial Disaster"]

[Text] In this vacation period which would normally make us feel carefree, the television statements made on Sunday noon by Willy Claes, minister of economic affairs, force the Belgians to give more thought to less pleasing realities.

Anxious to be realistic, yet denying any real pessimism, the minister stated, in essence, in the course of the "Face the Press" broadcast, that if nothing were to change in our country, in 5 years it would have 600,000 unemployed. This would occur even should the gross national product rise from 1.5 to two percent in real terms, and even if inflation is contained within an annual rate of 6-6.5 percent. In this case, Claes added, the net financial balance, i.e., the total state budget deficit, currently 232 billion, would rise to a dizzying 730 billion in 1985.

Conclusion: The absolute necessity to enhance economic activities and turn around a movement which, all other things being equal, would bring about the real bankruptcy of the state. The only means to resolve it is for the entire population--workers, members of the liberal professions, industrialists, or financiers--to accept a future moderation of income with a view to giving priority to economic over social affairs. Unless we succeed in achieving an economic upsurge the entire social security structure, in the broad meaning of the term, might crumble.

Sick Industries and Energy Dependence

We no longer have the means, Claes said, to live as we have over the past 20 years. The state has no more money and can no longer raise capital unless it pays exorbitant interest which only postpones the settlement of accounts.

According to the minister the current economic crisis is developing in four stages. In the first, the state no longer has the financial means

for recovery. In the second, the state is no longer capable of meeting the legal stipulations of social security financing. We have virtually reached the third stage in which the state no longer has the money necessary to meet its obligations in the areas of culture and education. At this stage the state loses the position it holds in the Western industrial world. The fourth stage, according to Claes, is that the preceding stages could bring about a crisis in the political system.

This crisis is worldwide, the minister reiterated. It is structural. Actually, it affects both the communist and the Western capitalist countries.

International commerce is stagnant and is aggravating production problems. In the United States metallurgical output has dropped 30 percent! In our country, despite the financial efforts made by society over the past few months, a month from now the metallurgists will be asking for loans. . . . from a government without money.

In Genk, in the automobile sector, a big plant (Ford--the editor) will have to slow down its output until the end of the year. In the textile sector our country may expect the loss of some 40,000 jobs over the next 5 years. Our machine and equipment manufacturing enterprises are facing a balance which allows for no modernization investments.

We Must Become Free From Petroleum and Natural Gas

Actually, further adding to our difficulties, the cost of energy has been rising steadily. More than 90 percent of our energy requirements depend on foreign deliveries. Industry consumes 33 percent of our energy. Natural gas presents as many problems as petroleum. Yet, it accounts for 22 percent of our energy balance, and 60 percent of the gas is consumed by industry. We are forced to reduce our rate of dependence on petroleum and natural gas. We must turn to coal and nuclear energy. In the latter case, we must see to it that proper public control has been secured.

Flight of Capital and Fear of Risk

Claes was asked questions and heard observations on the part of the journalists who took part in the telecast.*

For example: Actually, there is no shortage of money. But the big privileged capitalist groups which have a single rule--profit--make investments in the poor countries instead of at home. Even if the workers would show moderation, capital would still go to countries

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* Louis Willems (LA LIBRE BELGIQUE), Henri Bauduin (LA DERNIERE HEURE), Joseph Coppe (LA WALLONIE) and Paul Gossens (DE MORGEN).

where profits are high. What could the state do to prevent this flight of capital?

The minister acknowledged that the means at the disposal of the state are weak. He mentioned the need for dialogue and means of control. However, he acknowledged a tendency toward a flight of capital even though domestic holdings have some duties to accomplish. The minister admitted that capitalists are no longer taking any risks. "The moment there is a risk they turn to the state," said he.

The other question was the following: Could it be that the state, acting as the providence, proved to be too generous in supporting the big failing sectors, whereas it would have been more profitable to encourage small and medium-sized enterprises which are more flexible in adapting themselves to production changes? Yes, Claes answered, but failure to intervene in support of metallurgy and textiles would have meant a catastrophic rise in unemployment and a threat to the very life of a number of areas.

Too Many Governmental Crises

Should we not change the mental climate, and reach a new social consensus based on trust?

Trust? It is important, Claes said. How often have I heard, when it was a question of investments, that "it is impossible still to accomplish something in this country. Every year there is a governmental crisis!" We are in a Kafkaesque situation: The government is being steadily corroded by the attempt at regionalization. There is hardly more than 2 hours a week available to discuss the "real problems." "Unless we succeed in settling the problem of regionalizing, there would be no possibility to engage in serious political work."

De Gaulle or the Providential Man

Enumerating all the difficulties faced by the state, Claes recalled General de Gaulle who, he said, was able to bring order in the French economic and social world. Christiane Lepere, who anchored the telecast, asked him, therefore, if he wished for the arrival of a "providential man." Claes retreated immediately, specifying that he had simply wished to illustrate the fact that if nothing were to change in our behavior one could fear, as the outcome, a crisis in the parliamentary system. He did not exclude an "act of despair" even among the masses.

Concluding, Claes emphasized the need to fight fiscal and social fraud most sternly. He reiterated that only the general acceptance of economic priority would make it possible to lower unemployment and provide the state with the budgetary means for boosting the economy.

9157
CSO: 3100

AIR FORCE BUILDS OWN FLIGHT TRAINERS

Brussels VOX in French No 21, 5 Jun 80 pp 6-7

[Article by Ludo Magerman: "Cockpit Procedure Flight Trainer--Mirage 5BA"]

[Text] From the beginning to getting his wings, a pilot's training covers a period of 2 years. When he receives his diploma, he has already had a number of flight hours in the Siai Marchetti and the Alpha Jet. The last phase of instruction takes place at an operational base, either in Bierset, Kleine Brogel, Coxyde or Melsbroek, depending on the type of plane the pilot will fly.

In the course of the various stages of their training, the student pilots take flight trainer courses. The Belgian Air Force has one or more flight simulators for almost every type of plane. In an earlier article (VOX, 1980, No 13) we discussed the new Alpha Jet flight simulator, the most recent training aircraft purchased by the air force. But there are also training complexes for the Siai Marchetti, the F-104 G and the Mirage 5BA.

The use of flight simulators by the air force goes back to the beginning of the 1950's, when the United States lent us several of the P-4 type. Since that time, the word "simulator" has gained ever increasing currency.

Before that period, only Link trainers were used--small blue machines with yellow wings. They could move in all directions. These simulators owed their name to their inventor, a Mr Link, an American engineer who subsequently marketed them.

The Belgian Air Force did not stop with the purchase of these simulators, but produced them as well. The Link trainer noncommissioned officer section of the 21st Logistic Wing built a flight trainer for the Siai Marchetti, without foreign assistance. More recently, it assembled and made operational a simulator for the Mirage 5BA. The air force was faced with a thorny problem: Should it opt to purchase a very sophisticated and very expensive Mirage simulator, of which one is to be found in France, or put its personnel to work to make one, less expensive but nonetheless operational? The second solution was adopted and, since the

section mentioned above carries out the inspection and repair as necessary checks (IRAN) for simulators, this task was entrusted to it. The use of a simulator was designed to contribute to improved flight training. The pilot and the student pilot can thus, in the course of the various apprenticeship stages, perfect a knowledge of the routine flight techniques and emergency procedures. Economy and safety are both elements mitigating in favor of using a simulator.

Each pilot has a flight manual in which all of the steps to be taken in case of emergency are described. But everyone is familiar with the adage "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." If a pilot encounters difficulties during flight, he should immediately and without hesitating react knowledgeably. To consult his manual at such a moment to learn the emergency procedures might put him in a more difficult situation. It is by dint of these concrete exercises that the pilots can make their actions fully automatic. Only a simulator makes this schooling and "proper reflexes" with full safety possible.

A few years ago, the general staff of the air force asked the 23rd Logistic Wing in Zellik to build a mock-up of the Mirage 5BA--a reproduction of the cockpit in polyester. It had one disadvantage--the instrument panel was at first represented only by photographs, the whole complex thus being basically static. This was why the section of the 21st Logistics Wing was entrusted with the task of building a more realistic simulator.

This project was to meet the following conditions: The P-4 flight simulator already in existence was to be reused. Now this model was outdated, and in addition this flight simulator was equipped with a Mustang engine which had to be adapted for jet flight. All of the tools required for the construction had to be either salvaged or produced. Finally, the budget allocated for the project was minimal. The section was thus faced with a very difficult task.

All of the elements had to be included in the mock-up in polyester and connected with the computer. The old computer was used, but it had to be modernized in some ways. Now it is equipped with a new control panel for the instructor. The input networks, control loading and engine relay circuits had to be modified as well. The engine control unit was converted so it could be operated with the Mirage throttle lever. The rudder, elevator and aileron controls were added and connected by means of a mechanical transmission.

The eight men in the section worked for 2 years to carry out this project.

The realism of the flight simulation as such was not a requirement, but it was nonetheless incorporated. The perfection and quality of the product are remarkable. It is the 2nd Tactical Wing in Florennes which has used it to date.

The results are amazing. The various routine maneuvers such as starting up, takeoff and landing, as well as emergency procedures, can be executed. The scores achieved in the course of these exercises are more than satisfactory. The cockpit is reproduced so faithfully that the pilot finds himself in a familiar environment. At the end of the first half of 1979, the simulator was installed in Florennes, and it became operational a month later, the time required to train the personnel involved. Here special mention should be made of the chief pilot, S. Wilmart, of the 2nd Tactical Wing, who throughout the construction period provided the liaison between his unit and the 21st Logistics Wing.

The commissioning of the Mirage 5BA flight simulator represents a substantial addition to the simulator equipment of the Belgian Air Force. The men in the Link Trainer Section of the 21st Logistics Wing found their efforts rewarded by a prize which the general staff awarded for work useful to the community.

In awarding this prize, the jury noted the effort made by warrant officers Fr. Tytgat, S. Van Merelbeke, R. Danckers, G. Dogimont, W. Van Hazendonk and J. Grochocki, with the following citation: "An achievement meeting a need set forth by the general staff of the air force, and enabling pilots to practice the various procedures required to date. Can be regarded as a complicated task requiring significant preliminary study."

5157
CSO: 3100

CDU OFFICIAL EXPLAINS STRATEGY, VOICES OPTIMISM

Bonn DIE WELT in German 11 Jul 80 p 3

[Article by Eberhard Nitschke: "Interim Balance in Adenauer-Haus Shows CDU/CSU on the Way Up"]

[Text] Bonn--Franz Josef Strauss will make "key" appearances in the final, hot phase of the Bundestag election campaign, while Helmut Kohl will "cover the territory." In addition, there will be some events at which both will participate. As far as content is concerned, the CDU and CSU are beginning to concentrate on four main political points--emphasis of top candidate Strauss, the team, the program and the "attack against the SPD state."

At Adenauer-Haus in Bonn, CDU federal executive manager Ulf Fink drew up a first "interim balance sheet" of the election campaign so far. His result: Despite the negative CDU election result in North Rhine-Westphalia, party members have already reached a "degree of mobilization" matching the 1976 Bundestag election; this is apparent from the ordering of election campaign materials, among other things.

The federal party plans to dispatch at least two central election materials to all 20 million households in the Federal Republic--A "candidate folder" in a circulation of 19 million and a magazine supplement in a circulation of 11 million.

Successes as a Result of Desire to Help

Konrad-Adenauer-Haus is in a happy mood because (once again) the SPD has been beaten as far as membership figures are concerned. The number of members of the CDU and CSU "as well as their associations" amounts to exactly 1,061,101. The SPD at the end of 1979 announced a membership of 998,000--about 25,000 less than at the last Bundestag election in 1976.

A total of 78 complete "service centers" have been established for the 251 district associations of the CDU, permitting particularly fast production of big-circulation printed materials for distribution. According

to the latest figures, the party will stage 2,350 events on 750 days of action, with 123 federal speakers taking part in 3,100 events on 1,000 days of action--600 more events than in 1976.

Apart from such reflections of large-scale organization, federal executive manager Fink also foresees great successes as a result of members' desire to help. Thus, he says, the Allensbach Institute for Demoscopy in the last few weeks has asked 1,200 people whether anyone had recently tried to convince them of the quality of a certain party with view to gaining their vote for that party. Of those polled, 19 percent had answered the question positively, with 9 percent having been approached by CDU/CSU supporters, 7 percent by SPD fans and 2 percent by people supporting the FDP.

"Excursion Map" for Vacation Period

The election slogan "For Peace and Freedom," Fink says, was "received positively by the population, with 60 percent of people polled finding it good and 29 percent indicating that it was the best way to describe the CDU and CSU. After hardly more than 6 weeks in which the slogan had been used, this was a "fantastic result," what with about one-third of the coalition voters having subscribed to this judgment as well. Fink said: "This result appears particularly remarkable in light of the 'war propaganda' of the SPD in the North Rhine-Westphalian election district."

For the vacation period the CDU had devised an "excursion map" emphasizing vacation roads and nature parks and containing important travel information. The average demand for it alone is 25,000 at present per day--almost as high as for the brochure "Women Have the Support of the CDU," which is now put out at a rate of 33,000 a day. To counter political television broadcasts, a new leaflet is always published. The "trial issue" concerned a Bundestag event. On 19 June, 26 SPD Budestag deputies voted against federal government aid for Turkey. The tenor of the CDU: "The left flexed its muscles."

8790
CSO: 3103

ECONOMIC DOWNTURN SEEN, MONETARY POLICY CRITICIZED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Jul 80 pp19-21

[Article: "All Signs Point to Turnabout"]

[Excerpt] The economy is heading into a recession: Part-time work in the auto industry; pessimism among investment goods producers; consumer listlessness. Experts expect zero growth by this winter and more than 1 million unemployed. Continuing high interest rates are helping accelerate the decline.

Most experts agree that the economy turned around during the past few weeks. Polls conducted throughout industry as long ago as April by the Ifo Institute of Munich brought out a deterioration of the business climate. By now, almost all sectors are caught up in this depressed mood.

According to the Federal Statistics Office in Wiesbaden, industry received fewer orders in May of this year than last, the first time this has happened since 1977. Earlier this year, industry was still reporting double-digit growth rates.

Although the number of unemployed has not yet gotten out of hand, the Nuremberg Federal Labor Office registered more people looking for work this June than last, which also has not happened since 1977. There were also more people working part-time and fewer job openings than last year.

Many firms can already feel the economy cooling off. On the Ford and Audi auto assembly lines the men are working short hours. And the Opel plant at Ruesselsheim is letting more than 5,000 workers go with severance pay.

The association of iron, sheet m tal and metal manufacturers said last week that their member firms were becoming "increasingly pessismistic." For the second half of the year, the metal manufacturers expect "production to decrease to some extent."

The central association of the electrotechnical industry also took note of "first signs pointing to a slowdown." Grundig, Loewe Opta and Nordmende all sent their employees off to unplanned, involuntary extra vacations.

The textile workers are not faring any better. The Nino plant in Nordhorn introduced a part-time work schedule and as for the 650 employees of the Augsburg firm of Riedinger, they are faced with the prospect the firm may go out of business by the end of this year.

The construction industry, the steel industry and the chemical industry need only look at their order books to see that bad times are coming.

Karl Heinrich Oppenlaender, the head of Ifo, feels that all this "clearly points to a turnabout in the economy." Hans-Juergen Schmahl, speaking for the HWWA Institue, does not believe the economy "will take a nosedive" but that it will "hover around the sero growth mark for a while."

The Kiel Institute for World Economics, always more pessimistic than most, takes an even dimmer view of the future, predicting a "serious crisis" as in 1974-75.

According to the Kiel group, the FRG can look for no more than a 1.5 percent growth rate in 1980 and will face a one percent drop in production in 1981 with the unemployed figure rising to 1.25 million.

The Institute assigns some of the blame for the depression to the increase in oil prices. But "a decisive contributing factor" to the steep slide into the recession have been the tight money policies of the Bundesbank. For this reason, interest rates should be lowered immediately.

The Kiel group may stand alone in their overly pessimistic assessment-- but there certainly is no shortage of critics of the Bundesbank.

Since 1979, so the argument goes, borrowed money has gotten five percent more expensive for business. If high interest keep up, a poll conducted last week the Mietfinanz, a leas-

ing firm, showed, there will be serious repercussions on investment and on employment as well.

But this appeal to the finance experts is likely to go unheeded at least for the present. The Bundesbank's all-powerful central council has never been particularly impressed by the ups and downs of the economy. Its only real criterion has been the rate of inflation. If it was small, the council did nothing. But, if prices were on the rise, the Bundesbank jumped into action.

To stop rising prices in 1974-75, the Bundesbank gave its stamp of approval to a two-year recession which led to one million unemployed and 10,000 bankruptcies. Former Bundesbank head Otmar Emminger is still calling the outcome "a success." And what a success it was: the inflation rate was lowered from seven percent in 1974 to six percent in 1975.

But, when the Bundesbank, based on its own calculations, was looking for a boom in 1979 with a real growth rate of four percent, it could see no reason for intervening. It was not until inflation brought on by the oil imports caused a rise in domestic prices in 1979 that the Bundesbank did an about-face.

But, since changes in fiscal policy take at least a year to have any effect, the boom and bust cycles tend to be even more violent.

Thus, the 1979 grwoth rate was an above-average 4.4 percent. In the first quarter of 1980 it even increased to 5.6 percent as the fear of inflation and world crises led to stockpiling. But it was to be expected that these rapid advances would not go on forever.

As it happens, the economy has long since peaked. There is a great deal of merchandise in stock, but private consumption is lagging. There is a slowdown in the construction industry because of sharp increases in cost and in the export industry because the world economy is weak.

And the public sector, faced by empty coffers, is not placing any additional orders, either. It is only the equipment purchases by industry, most of which were planned last year or the year before, which are keeping the economy going.

And so, the economy is headed into a winter which will not see the GNP grow for a change. Due to the initial high growth rate, the annual average will still rise by about 2.5 percent in real terms; but we may also expect to have more than one million unemployed by the end of the year.

They can all see it coming-- and they are all taking it in stride.

Minister of Economics Otto Graf Lambsdorff does not see "a need to act on the economy." The Liberals have always been for letting the economy heal itself and for crises to help act as a purge.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who has his hands full bringing East and West closer together, appears unwilling to get involved in domestic squabbles about interest rates.

As for Karl Otto Poehl, he appears to have thrown in the towel after spending his half year in office in tiresome debates with the refractory central council. The Bundesbank head therefore does not want to state publicly under what conditions the bank might change its tight money policies. "That is a difficult question," he says.

But, after taking a Sunday walk in the rain with Poehl, Finance Minister Matthoefer knows the answer.

Next month, the so-called basis effect will cause the rate of inflation to drop. The jump in prices brought on by home heating oil hikes and increases in the value-added tax will be falling off and the rise in the cost of living will be a good deal less than during the past few months.

And that is the type of situation which has always prompted the Bundesbank to act.

9478
CSO: 3103

PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY ROLE BECOMES ELECTION ISSUE

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 27 Jun 80 p 6

[Article by Hannes Gamillscheg: "The Monarch of Helsinki"]

[Text] The election of a new president in 1984 will increasingly affect Finnish domestic and party politics.

Helsinki, June--Following the death of Yugoslavia's head of state Tito, Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, Finland's 80-year-old president, is the last one of the "grand old men" governing in Europe. He was elected two years ago for another six-year term in office. Kekkonen shaped his country as much as Tito did Yugoslavia. It is no wonder that today, inside and outside of Finland, the question arises more and more frequently as to what will happen when Kekkonen is no longer the head of state.

It is obvious that Finland will not make any big political waves. Finland's foreign policy is shaped, on one hand, by the firm will on the part of the population to defend its freedom and its Western living standard, and, on the other hand, also by its geographic location. It creates a special situation for Finland, because it has to consider the Soviet Union, something which, at times, causes a condescending smile in the West, but, to date, the land in the North has been managing quite well. The "Finnish way" is not Kekkonen's invention but, to a high degree, the credit must go to the realpolitik of his conservative predecessor Paasikivi, which Urho Kekkonen has been following consistently since he took over the office in 1956.

In other words, whereas the basic principles of Finnish foreign policy are above any discussion, the office of the president and its duties are disputed. How much power should be vested in the head of state? The present constitution gives him much power: It is the president who makes the decisions about relations with other countries. The constitution is a compromise that was negotiated between Republicans and Monarchists in 1917 after Finland had been established as a state. Finland became a republic: But at the head of it there is a president whose authority surpasses the power of many monarchs.

The parties on the left want to change this. Recently, Kekkonen stopped a discussion about the constitution, stating that it was not "necessary," but the change is still a part of Social Democratic and Communist programs. The power of the state is to rest with Parliament.

The bourgeois parties are in disagreement about this. The Center Party is pointing to the fact that during elections even the biggest parties can only muster one-fourth of the voters. During its 63-year history Finland has had 62 governments. Consequently, a strong president is necessary to guarantee stability. The Conservatives are sounding the same tune. Although it is an open secret that Kekkonen would not like to see the Conservatives as the governing party, Tapani Moerttinen, their deputy chairman is supporting him: Finland needs a strong leadership in foreign policy and, therefore, a strong president. And besides: The fact that Kekkonen is so dominant cannot be blamed on the constitution, but is a result of his personality.

For years, the game as to who will be Kekkonen's successor has been a favorite pastime for Finnish newspapers. For years, one man has been the uncontested leader on the popular list. It is Mauno Koivisto, currently minister president. Until he was called to the government post last year, he was president of the National Bank. He is a Social Democrat and a self-made man. He enjoys the confidence of the people to such a high degree, which other politicians can only dream of. A current example: The cumbersome five-party coalition headed by Koivisto is fighting its way clumsily from one stumbling block to the next; but in the eyes of the Finns, it is the most popular government in many years--and only because Koivisto is the chief.

Nevertheless, Mauno Koivisto will presumably not be Finland's next president. In a direct popular election, he would not have an opponent. But Finland's voters are not electing the president. They are only electing an electoral college, which, in turn, will appoint the president. The 300 electors, however, are nominated according to party lists and in cases like that voters follow--as experience has shown--their usual party preferences. Since Finland has a definite surplus of bourgeois voters, bourgeois electors will constitute a majority in the college. And, presumably, they will decide in favor of a Center candidate. Even members of the Social Democratic Party are convinced that the next president will not be a Social Democrat.

Even Urho Kekkonen belonged originally to the Agrarian Party, the party which preceded the Center Party. The Center Party has several candidates: Ahti Karjalainen, who was minister of foreign affairs for many years, Johannes Virolainen, next to Kekkonen the most experienced Finnish politician, and also Paavo Vaeyrynen, the present minister of foreign affairs who, however, is only 33 years old, and, consequently, the Finns cannot quite picture him as the successor to the 80-year-old Kekkonen--it is a big step from the grandfather to the grandson....

Although the Conservatives are the largest bourgeois party in Finland--and on the point of trying to replace the Social Democrats as the first-place party in the country--a Conservative candidate would have no chance during a presidential election. The "selection party" has accepted this fact and is willing to elect a Center candidate. "If you are not able to get someone from your own village, you have to take someone from your own region," Moerttinen said laughing. The most important thing is the victory of a bourgeois candidate. "If Finland is a nonsocialist country, it should also have a nonsocialist president."

If Urho Kekkonen should not live to see 1984, the end of his elected term, the electoral college established in 1978 would have to elect a new president for the remainder of the six-year term. Currently, there are 170 bourgeois representatives among the electors and 130 left wing party representatives. It would seem logical that this combination would elect a president from the Center Party. There is only one way this could be changed: deals ignoring the confines of the Left and the Right. Such deals are not unusual in Finland. In 1978, for instance, all the big parties, from Conservatives to Communists, supported Kekkonen's reelection. But even as early as 1956, an alliance between the Agrarians and the Communists made sure that Kekkonen became president and not Fagerholm, a Social Democrat. Incidentally, a repetition of the leap beyond ideological limits would provide a chance for the popular Social Democrat Koivisto.

8991
CSO: 3103

FISZBIN SUPPORTED IN ACTION AGAINST PCF

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jun 80 p 13

[Editorial: "The Paris Federation Of the Communist Party: Mr Michel Feignac Supports Mr Henri Fiszbin's Action"--passages in slantlines published in italics]

[Text] On Friday 20 June, Mr Michel Ferignac (PCF), council member in Paris, sent a letter to Mr Georges Marchais to protest the attitude shown by the secretary general of the PCF towards Mr Henri Fiszgin following the latter's interview with LE MONDE on 12 June. Mr Ferignac, who supports the action of the former representative of the Communist Federation in the capital, kept his powers within the communist group in the Council of Paris, while Mr Fiszbin had to give up the presidency of that group.

Mr Ferignac writes: /"In the LE MONDE issue of 20 June 1980, I read a very interesting article by our friend Marcel Paul. I was glad to see him defend, with all the authority and competence we all know he has, the legitimacy of the action taken by the employees of the EDF-GDF [French Electric Company-French Gas Company] and the right to strike.

"But I was astonished to find the complete article on the following morning in the HUMANITE, without any mention of its source.

"I did not expect the leadership of the Party and its daily paper to contradict each other so quickly and so openly. In fact, I still remember that at the time of the France-Inter broadcast "Facing the Public" on 11 June 1980 (HUMANITE of 12 June) you refused to answer questions after the interview granted LE MONDE by Henri Fiszbin, by arguing that he had used as his medium 'a bourgeois paper ... that right-wing paper whose prime task, as everyone knows, is both to weaken the French Communist Party and to support Mr Giscard d'Estaing.'

"I was personally shocked that you would use such an argument. That the HUMANITE repeated the 'Free Opinion' of Marcel Paul proves that it was only a poor excuse in order to avoid a discussion. Recently you opposed Henri Fiszgin's proposal to start a debate within the Party and to have

a forum in its paper, to start before the conference in October is convened to prepare for the presidential elections of 1981. Having thus deprived the communists of any opportunity to have their opinions heard through their party, you reproach those among them who still feel a need to express themselves of doing it in the noncommunist press. It is, in fact, denying them the right to free expression. What seems to me to be important is the content of what is said and must be debated, not the place where it is published. Every idea, without exception, must be discussed; the party should not refuse to accept it.

"I consider it my duty and my right as a militant to express my feelings on the position you thought you had to take in this matter."/

9465
CSO: 3100

DELAY FORESEEN FOR ARIANE THIRD LAUNCHING

Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Jun 80 p 10

[Editorial: "Ariane: The Third Launching Will Be Delayed"--passages in slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The National Center for Space Studies (CNES) and the European Space Agency (ESA) indicate that the third launching of the Ariane rocket at the Kourou base may be delayed for 3 months, following the failure of the second test and based on conclusions drawn from the current investigation.

Originally planned for November, the next flight /"could take place either before the end of the year, or in February 1981,"] said a communique, adding: /"Under the circumstances, the fourth launch should take place before mid-year in 1981, and the launcher's readiness should be determined within a time period compatible with the first operational launches."/

Without questioning the possibility that the failure on 23 May was due to interferences between the launcher and the ground during take-off (our issue of 23 June), the CNES and ESA can think of two other possibilities: on the one hand, the presence of a foreign body on inspection is possible: during recovery of the motor, an identification tag near the injection opening was detected. On the other hand, one can also consider an engine failure on take-off.

9465
CSO: 3100

REPORTER ANALYZES PRESS STRIKE CAUSES

Athens ANDI in Greek 4 Jul 80 pp 12-14

[Article by Petros Evthymiou: "Crisis in the Press: Corporate Logic and Real Deadlocks"]

[Text] The recent crisis in the press is another first-class opportunity for one to perceive, naturally and instinctively, how degraded essential social functions are in our country and how low problems decisive for the quality and level of public life rank in the common consciousness and the practice of agents and individuals. The recent crisis in the press is, moreover, an indication of how much we are all adapted to and poisoned by this social and political sub-functioning of vehicles, institutions and persons.

The first negative is that the newspapers had to not "come out" in order for us to be occupied with press matters whereas, as long as the newspapers did "come out," they raised problems of the press every day. This is because if we now have a crisis in the press, in reality there is a very serious and chronic "press crisis" which, since we have become accustomed to its terms, has neccesitated our coexistence with its daily proof in the issue which we buy.

In truth, which Greek citizen and newspaper reader does not coexist suspiciously with the issue of his choice? How many do not buy the "least bad" newspaper compared to the honestly "bad" ones? How many others do not buy two newspapers in a form of compensating for mutual voids? How many others do not buy the party issue for the sake of duty and the "others" from a need for information? Finally, what means the army of people who do not read newspapers in a form of negative selection?

The "press crisis" is certainly a universal phenomenon which the "developed" West has faced for some time now. There are certain fixed parameters of the problem: competition to the press from other means of mass communication (especially television) and problems accruing from the close dependency--not always only e[illegible]--on the government, from its arrangement as a capitalistic enterprise and its subjugation to laws of the market--and

whatever this entails--and from the antinomy of the exercise of a power (the famous "fourth") which, however, is restrictively subordinated to all the rest....

But while, in most cases, the "press crisis" in these countries assumed the dimensions of a primarily significant social problem to whose confrontation contributed not only the government or the owners but, to an important degree, the trade unions, parties or organized pressure from the intelligentsia, etc., to "each of us" the problem does not even exist....

This absence of criticism from all the factors which exercise, in the final analysis, a formative influence on press functions is not accidental because, either consciously and by decision, or "imperceptibly," everyone and everything contribute on their part to the misfortune of the Greek press. Thus, it becomes extremely difficult to exercise criticism of the press--it would be just like criticizing your mirror....

Let us accept as self-evident that the publishers cannot but perceive their "social mission" as identified with their social identity--more simply, their class interest. Let us also accept as nearly self-evident that the government cannot but wish the press to be limited and walled-in as pertains to information and the exercise of social and political criticism.

If, however, we consider that the consolidated will of government and publishers cannot produce the printed pages of the newspapers, if, that is, we examine the newspaper as a productive act, we must include as jointly responsible for its appearance, contents and quality the total factors which put it together and reproduce it, that is: the editors, contributors, press workers in general, all the agents who produce news and information--like parties, organizations, political vehicles, etc.--and, finally, all those whose daily buying activity is considered approval and consent for the reproduction of our daily mirror. In a few words, we are all, on different scales, jointly responsible for the press--but, a little more, those on the press....

More specifically, for the political parties, the press problem exists only when the projection of party activity is not ensured. However, it does not exist, for example, when the representative's political interview is located below Kamateros' five columns. It does not exist when the title "critical turn in Cyprus" is suspended from the naked breast of a sex "goddess." As long as the party has its share of publicity, it does not care about the framework of this publicity. But it is a bit doubtful if its political "message" remains clear and immune from its surrounding printed matter....

As for the contradictions, there is the leftist intellectual who cuts the prevailing ideology from a column which is surrounded by the ideology's most brilliant implementations.

The same applies to the political editor who denounces on the front page the new anti-popular measures which are deemed necessary by the economic column in the same newspaper.

The same applies to the simple reader-citizen-buyer-consumer who for six years has read criticism about a government, yet the criticism has not included the government's premier or, again, when on the first page he is shocked by Kostalexi, but on the fourth page he is informed that the mental hospitals are driving the healthy crazy, he is endangered more by the chasm of logic and optics opened by only two pages....

The list could drag on. There is no doubt that in our country the press, as an ideological mechanism, a political shaper and a vehicle of information, is very far from certain basic provisions of its work: protection and promotion of democratic rights and freedoms, especially through protection of the reader's right to be an active component of the social and political processes which concern him. That is, the role of the press must begin where it is considered it ends: it does not "shape" the reader, but it itself is "shaped" through the loyal service of a non-alined, objective informing on all sides and by a systematic clash with the expediency, vulgarity and routine which antimony often emits....

If all these--the better known--were reported with such persistence, it is because it appears that recent events can offer an opportunity for the press problem to be placed from the beginning on new bases.

For the present, at any rate, the rather complex scenery does not allow us to discern this possibility. In this phase, the problem starts out as a struggle by one branch of press workers--the printers--for protection of its work position, as a classic worker-employer conflict.

It has been known for some time that throughout Europe the old technique of publishing newspapers is being abolished and the technique of photosynthesis and off-set is being introduced. The new method has a truly clear and essential advantage: it significantly shortens printing time, but it drastically reduces employment. It multiplies publishing possibilities--for example, an Athens newspaper could be printed simultaneously in provincial centers with pages on local topics inserted--while, more generally, it significantly decreases the cost of publication, considering present levels. However, the introduction of photosynthesis did not occur without great clashes--especially in Britain--between publishers and printers whose many specialties are essentially abolished with the new technique.

It is not, however, so "natural" when something similar happens to us, above all because the press workers, in due time, with the experience of their colleagues in other countries, should have defined their position. When we say "press workers" we mean the whole spectrum: from the journalists to the newspaper sellers, it touches them all and the introduction of a new technique concerns them all.

Thus, if such a process, a unified and all-powerful bloc, had come first, it would be able to lay down specific proposals and terms which no employer could easily evade. Whereas now the printers' rather spasmodic actions can be a "golden opportunity" for the owners to pass a chain of measures which will consolidate even more the present negatives of the press.

It appears that the printers' administration was characterized by an "arrogance and intoxication." It is a fact that, since the printers controlled delivery and held a key position in production, they managed to create with their struggles a priviledged status in relation to their corresponding colleagues. Work hours, benefits, monthly inflationary readjustments of salary and tax exemptions were combined with a fairly high pay scale. The lowest paid—those on the periphery of the branch--start out at at least 35,000 drachmas. The median monthly salaries of workers on large, many-paged newspapers reaches 70 to 100,000 drachmas, while there are reports of the surely extreme example of a master workman who, with the specials "bounties" of the balance-sheets, etc., surpassed 300,000 as a monthly salary....

At the same time, a characteristic of the branch is its organization almost on the prototype of a medieval craft guild. It is a "closed" profession with a strict internal hierarchy from the apprentice to the master worker, with a separation of novices and regular members and with an almost hereditary succession of its members. It is said that entry into the branch was even a matter of endowment contracts, which perhaps create a picture of extremism, but which in their foundation are based on enough signs of creation of a "closed" mentality and, consequently, syndicalistic practice.

So it is not accidental that a fuel for recent events is the fact that the printers (ETIPTA [Union of Athens Daily and Periodical Press Technical Workers]), in order to confront the invasion of photosynthesis, did not pursue or instigate an open public discussion of battle methods, at least in the frameworks of the branch. To the contrary, it acted with a "closed" "corporate" logic and mentality, taking care to strengthen itself and attaching to its forces lithograph pressmen who up to then were spoken for by the lithographers and PSELGT (Panhellenic Association of Graphic Arts Lithograph Workers). This was because the pressmen are actually the second--in the line of significance--knot in the process of producing printed matter; if it were supposed that some strike-breaking mechanism could compose the issue, it could not "come out" if the pressers did not print it....

Even if we accept the ETIPTA printers' argument, that is that they had proof that the lithographers had a type of pre-agreement with the employer, the owners, to themselves undertake photosynthesis, thus removing the printers, this still does not justify their inner-syndicalistic fractionization.

To the contrary, they should have openly, publicly and concretely pursued a dialogue with the lithographers, as with all the other press workers, for a common confrontation of mutual problems. Whereas now, polarizing the two branches, they weaken in the long run, instead of strengthening, their position because thus there is not a common bloc of press workers, the possibilities of the owners' maneuvers are multiplied and misunderstanding concerning the real nature of the problems is heightened when they are presented as a clash among workers which the "innocent" owners are enduring....

On one side, while in the owners' "lockout" the printers were aided by the editors' union and the newspaper sellers, we cannot accept that there begins and ends the role of the editors' union which could play a far more positive and different part in press matters and, more generally, in public life. However, as the recent elections in ESIEA [Union of Athens Daily Newspaper Editors] showed, strong currents of preservation run over the branch. The observation by a periodical of the "enlightened" right is a little bitter when it notes: "But how does it happen that a body which is considered progressive by a majority elevates conservative elements to its representation? At the beginning, we must say that ESIEA is more a syndicalistic body than anything else. So one finds it occupied with vindicative struggles, collective agreements and inflationary readjustments instead of intellectual and more general political issues...."

Surely, as noted the united journalists' movement, which was in the minority in the recent elections, the role of ESIEA must be something else and if it is not enacted by ESIEA in the current crisis, then painful results are likely to be facilitated.

On the other side, it appears that the owners will change the issue into a "packet" of overall adjustments of their own abeyances. Their "hard" stance versus ETIPTA and the rumored methodizing of the prolongation of the "lockout" with the artifice of the monthly mandatory leave is probably not only the "avenger" stance of the employer against disorderly workers, it is, most possibly, a quest for time and the creation of preconditions for more definite and radical decisions than the confrontation of labor demands.

Eventually we have one more step in making the press concentric and a deepening of its almost monopolistic structure, with discontinuance of the "weaker" press and restructuring of the more predominant on a new basis. Let us imagine alone the significance of the possibility of TA NEA, for instance, being composed with photosynthesis simultaneously in northern Greece and Crete--with local interest pages inserted--and Thessalia, Ipieros, etc. We would really have a "new seasor" in the press, but with a sharpening of the old well-known problems....

Thus, perhaps it is time for all those interested to intervene decisively in press matters, in turn going beyond the standpoint of demands of contending labor branches and directly placing the press problem in its

institutional dimension and its decisive contribution to the intrinsic or non-intrinsic functioning of democratic institutions.

At any rate, the printers must be protected in view of the introduction of new technology, even with legislative regulations if necessary. There must be an end to the dangerous inner-labor dispute which does not serve anyone in the end and harms everyone in the long run. But, at the same time, the parties, journalists, intellectuals, all those who wish to preserve their capacity as a citizen, must not consume themselves in declarations or comments.

If, for example, there is truth to the information that there is thought among the owners about publishing a common issue in case of recurrence of the striking mobilization, then perhaps we should remember the very good precedent of the journalists' strike and that there can exist, let us say, simultaneously with the owners' publication, the "Non-alined Opinion" of the press workers and all those who do not wish to alienate their constitutional right to information?

How many other possibilities for essential intervention do we not have, if we want it and risk it?

Let us hope that the press crisis will prove to be a two-way street and that it will instigate an activation of another class to confront the press crisis.

9247
CSO: 4908

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE UNDERGOING TRANSITION

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 25 Jun 80 p 7

[Commentary by Staksteinar]

[Text] VISIR's columnist "Svarthofdi" wrote the other day about the changes which have occurred in recent years in the People's Alliance Party. He said:

"A growing dissatisfaction is now prevalent among the radicals of the People's Alliance concerning the opportunism and the situational policies which have characterized that party more and more in recent years, particularly since the 'fair-haired boys' got into power and started endorsing policies which they had criticized Progressive Party leaders for following some years ago.

"The People's Alliance today is an example of a party which is coming back into power after a long leave of absence spent in the political wilderness. The leaders are so fond of their positions of power that everything gets sacrificed to keep them in these positions.

"This change occurred in the party about the same time as the new people came into power. They were raised to considerable positions of power within the party about the same time as they sat down at the nation's dinner table, both in the capital city and in the ministries. They have had a marvelous time stuffing their faces with the tempting tidbits of political power. We are talking about men like Hjorleifur Guttormsson, Svavar Gestsson, Olafur Ragnar Grimsson and Ragnar Arnalds, as well as several lesser prophets such as Sigurjon Petursson, Throstur Olafsson and others like them. The love of these men and their colleagues for power has had a result that numerous matters of policy which the leaders of the People's Alliance used to make much of, designating them as factors in the "socialist reconstruction" of our society, have been abandoned, because they were not advantageous in putting the fair-haried boys into their positions of power, or in maintaining them there.

"Of course, it is relatively common for political leaders to set aside various significant matters of policy in their quests for power, especially when direct benefits can be demonstrated in the areas of economy and public progress resulting from their being in power. A bridge here, an airstrip there, and a little stretch of road over younder can keep the various revolutionary passions in check, particularly if these developments benefit the party's leaders in the rural districts."

Party Fights Neither for Socialism Nor For the Withdrawal of the Defense Force

Then Svarthofdi says:

"But unfortunately for the new leaders in the People's Alliance, not all of the party members are out there in the toils of farm politics. A bridge or stretch of road isn't going to reconcile them all with the burying of the political policies of long years' standing. An example of this dissatisfaction could be read in THJODVILJINN last weekend, in which a woman activist made serious accusations against her party. And what was her verdict?

"'We used to stand for socialism, the withdrawal of the NATO Defense Force, and a better quality of life, but not any more,' she said. 'The leftist policy which is now being followed does not consider the people's needs and it has brought about pitiful results.'

"She's precisely correct that in recent years the leaders of the People's Alliance have neither fought for socialism nor for a military withdrawal. They have always been too busy participating in seasonal and temporary remedies for the economic situation to think about socialism, even though they all cling to unbelievably stale and unproductive notions about what socialism is. And the withdrawal of the Defense Force has hardly been mentioned in their camp for some time, because the People's Alliance has always participated in the government as a minority party, dependent upon others, whose platforms included keeping the Defense Force in Iceland, and the People's Alliance did not want to contradict the policies of the government leaders."

They Can't Be Trusted

In conclusion, Svarthofdi says:

"We shouldn't ignore the fact, either, that the leftist policy which the People's Alliance offers does not consider the needs of the people. This, of course, has already become apparent, and it is useless for the politicians to add more words to their expressed policies, which they themselves have always been prepared to sacrifice when it came to their desires for power. People see through the deceptions sooner now, and they judge these men perceptively.

"Many people consider it an incidental thing that the leaders who are now in power in the People's Alliance are so ready, as has been seen, to sacrifice party policy in important matters. This is a dangerous misunderstanding. That very fact--that these men are power-hungry opportunists--is what shows so clearly that they should not be trusted with the nest-eggs of our nation."

VIGDIS FINNBOGADOTTIR: I AM CONSERVATIVE

No Foreign Policy Change Mandate

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 1 Jul 80 p 20

[Editorial]

[Excerpts] The long and difficult election campaign for the office of the president of Iceland is now ended. The nation has gone to the voting booths and elected a new president. Vigdis Finnbogadottir will be the republic's fourth president. Never before have as many candidates campaigned for this high office. The results show that there is full reason to consider whether the presidential elections should be held when there are so many presidential candidates. By employing such a restriction, it can be expected that it would be easier for both the voters and the candidates to face their respective duties. A newly elected president would find it easier to perform his duties if he had received the majority of votes.

With the sincerity and integrity, which have made him so popular among the people, Dr Kristjan Eldjarn, the incumbent president of Iceland, has described the qualities he considers a good president must have. On election night the president said on television, that the president must have a personality that is agreeable and attractive to as many people as possible. These are strict requirements but justifiable. The president of Iceland is the symbol of the country's unity. His role is to promote the elements that unite and drive away elements that have the opposite effect. It is quite obvious that the president cannot do this unless the nation accepts him with an open mind and without any prejudice. Up to now we have seen that the nation quickly unites behind its president, although the fight during the presidential elections had been fierce. To be sure, the situation has never been as it is now, that only a third of the nation decided on the election of the president. This fact puts heavier duties on the shoulders of Finnbogadottir than on her predecessors. In order to be successful, she must be able to unite the nation behind her. MORGUNBLADID joins all Finnbogadottir's fellow presidential candidates in encouraging the nation to unite behind her.

Finnbogadottir's victory marks a turning-point, when looking at the fight that has been carried on for the equality of the sexes. Actually it should not come as a surprise to anyone, that the Icelanders elect a woman as their head of state. The Icelandic Saga shows that women have always been highly regarded in this country. In many ways they have become the flag-bearers and the examples for other nations in the on-going fight during the past years for improving the position of women in society. The election of Finnbogadottir is a further confirmation of this leading role, which will receive a great attention in many countries.

Before the presidential elections it is greatly emphasized that the candidates have no political party affiliation. It has been hinted that the voters greatly value crossing the party lines during presidential elections. It cannot go unnoticed, however, that some political parties have had a problem with this crossing of party lines when the election result was known; these parties find it difficult not to act as if "their" candidate had won. Without a doubt this inharmonious song will be heard this time also. The newly elected president does not need the kind of support that comes with placing her in politically marked party stalls, when she is faced with the task of uniting the whole nation behind her. The same applies, if, after the presidential elections, the president is to be made the spokesman for individual opinions groups, for example in the nation's foreign affairs and security affairs. Finnbogadottir's statements regarding these matters have been interpreted in many ways. It is worth keeping in mind, however, that two-thirds of the voters voted for the candidates who want unchanged policy in foreign affairs.

Far From Being Communist

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 2 Jul 80 pp 16-17

[Interview by Arni Johnsen: "Optimism Gives Us Stamina and Strength"]

[Excerpt] "It seems that I am the president of the Icelandic youth," said Vigdis Finnbogadottir during a press conference at her home in Reykjavik yesterday, as she held a stack of telegrams from all over the world. At the top of the stack was a warm and sincere note from two young girls in Reykjavik who had brought Finnbogadottir a statue of a small child. "Almost all of the national leaders in the western world have sent me a congratulatory telegram except Carter," said Finnbogadottir. "I just received a telegram from Joseph Luns, but I have not received any from the Soviet Union, China or other Asian countries. They don't seem to care about me at all there." Whether by mental telepathy or whatever, it so happened that a personal telegram arrived from President Carter during the press conference. "I have also received a number of telegrams from women's associations all over the world," she continued, "and from many sailors at sea and my fellow candidates and politicians. I have been pleased that most often three things are mentioned in these telegrams, God, the sunshine and good fortune. I have received many telegrams from the Faero Islands. The telegram I appreciate the most is from the Greenlandic Women's Association."

Finnbogadottir then spoke some more about the good wishes she had received from around the world. Furthermore, she said that since early that morning she had been in almost continuous telephone contact with foreign news agencies who interviewed her for newspapers and radio. She was also interviewed by foreign television newsmen. The discussion carried over to the election results and the equal rights movement.

"Are You Able to Do This?"

--"Yes. I am a former presidential candidate; now I am the president elect; and in August I will be president. These are three different terms. I have heard that one of my first duties as president will be to go to Hrafnseyri on August 3rd to a Jon Sigurdsson celebration and commemorate this great man from the history of the struggle for Iceland's independence. I am very happy to be going there at the invitation of Bishop Sigurbjorn Einarsson.

I consider this election extremely important for the equal rights movement worldwide, as this is the first time a nation elects a women as president in democratic elections. I have received phone calls because of that from the United States, France and Germany and other countries.

I am the first woman theatre director in Iceland which has been very satisfying. I have been very lucky in my profession in that the question of whether I was a man or a woman has never been asked. The question has only been: "Are you able to do this?"

Finnbogadottir mentioned to the press that in a REUTER news release from Iceland, according to TIMINN and THJODVILJINN, she had been greatly involved in peace meetings in the Soviet Union and China, "but I have never been to China," said the president elect, "but I have been to the Soviet Union once to attend an international theatre convention in Moscow with people from all over the world."

"Work Skills and Work Endurance"

Finnbogadottir was asked what the foreign mass media wanted to talk about most in their interviews with her. "That a woman was elected president for the first time," she answered. "They want to hear what I have to say, and what I have to say about us Icelanders as a nation in the world. They have been asking for appointments to discuss these matters and some newsmen are supposedly already on their way to Iceland to discuss these matters with me. Just now I had an interview with DEUTSCHE SAMSTAG, which is the most read weekly in West-Germany. When I was asked what we wanted to tell the world, I emphasized that we had the work skills and the work endurance to live an independent cultural life and to live as an independent nation despite being so few. I pointed out to them that in reality we live under a social order which would be more natural for a nation of millions. This nation jumped out of the Viking Age into a new century. Technical progress, which has taken large nations almost two centuries to develop, or

from the time of the invention of the steam engine, has been developed in this country in half a century."

"A Person Who Knows How To Read Never Needs To Be Alone"

The Icelandic language was brought into the discussion in connection with the word "saemilegt" [tolerable], and Finnbogadottir pointed out that it derived from the word "soemi" [honor], although it had lost its original meaning to many people. She also mentioned as another example the word "dros" [woman] which rhymes with "hvarmaljos" [eyes], a word that is one of the most beautiful kenning for a woman in 19th Century poetry, but nowadays is often used about women of questionable virtue. "I enjoy etymology and playing with words," said Finnbogadottir, "and it is the Icelandic language that is our only weapon as a nation among the nations of the world."

It came forth at the press conference that this was the first time a president elect holds a press conference. Finnbogadottir was asked if she, as president, would start giving press conferences, although that had not been the custom among her predecessors.

"If there is something I feel I must convey, I will call a press conference," Finnbogadottir answered. "Not everybody has access to radio or television but we all know how to read. To know how to read is a tremendous gift, because the person who knows how to read never has to be alone, if he has the written word at hand."

"To Maintain Iceland's Integrity"

Finnbogadottir was asked what kind of a head of state she would be. "The fact that I am a woman draws attention to Iceland. I don't think that if any of my fellow candidates had won, that he would have received a telegram from the Association of Greenlandic Women. I intend to strive to maintain Iceland's integrity; and everything that is Icelandic; including Icelandic history, economic life and all Icelandic culture in general. I am a pacifist and I have closely followed international discussions concerning ways of bringing this world together; what is positive and what is negative. I know that there are enormous sums of money used for armament; and I know how tremendous the extravagance and tension is relative to that. I am an optimist and I know that optimism generates energy but pessimism dulls the strength.'

I hope we Icelanders will always be an optimistic nation so that we may maintain our stamina and strength."

"Far Removed From Communism"

"What is a left swing?" Finnbogadottir asked in turn. "I am extremely conservative regarding Icelandic culture and therefore a perfect example of what is referred to by the term "conservative." I have been considered

a leftist because I don't follow some definite and demarcated route; but I am as far removed from being a communist as anyone can possibly be.

I have sometimes said that after all this talk about labeling me a communist, that I had so many communist stamps all over me, that it would be possible to send me to Moscow without wrapping me in anything. I would be well received there and they would say da, da, yes, yes, but as soon as I would start nagging about freedom, they would say njet, njet, no, no, and I would probably be sent to an insane asylum.

I have been labeled a leftist, but I have never said so myself. However, nobody can describe himself or herself, and to a certain extent, one is an echo of what one is said to be. Some of these remarks I have sensed and understood, some not. I have, for example, been told that I speak a powerful and concise Icelandic. I don't know, but I am told so and I like it."

"Great Support in Personal Ties"

Finnbogadottir said she thought the campaign trip around the country had resulted in the fact that many more people knew their president personally. "This campaign trip has created such personal relationships and ties of friendship all around the country, that it must be a great support for the president. That is, for example, the reason for all these flowers and telegrams from supporters all over the country. This morning sailors from the trawler Ingolfur Arnarson visited me and brought me freshly caught fish. They thought it more appropriate as I must have received so many flowers along with other congratulation wishes, they said."

Marxist, Progressive Organs Comment

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 4 Jul 80 p 7

[Text] In a noteworthy editorial in TIMINN yesterday, Thorarinn Thorarinsson discusses various gestures THJODVILJINN employs to claim as theirs, the socialists' and the opponents' for military forces in Iceland, the newly elected president.

"A REUTER news release has drawn attention to it abroad, that Vigdis Finnbogadottir had been opposed to Iceland's membership in NATO and that she had participated in demonstrations. In their two first editorials after the elections, THJODVILJINN has hinted indirectly to this same fact; and in yesterday's editorial they added that there was no doubt about the fact that the heart of "Socialism beat the fastest in these elections." By these remarks in THJODVILJINN Vigdis Finnbogadottir is definitely being given a certain label.

What is correct, is, that the members of the Peoples' Alliance were much divided in the presidential elections, just like the members of other political parties. Einar Olgeirsson supported Petur J. Thorsteinsson,

Sigurjon Petursson supported Gudlaugur Thorvaldsson and Gudmundur J. Gudmundsson supported Albert Gudmundsson, to give but a few examples. The hearts of these leaders of the Peoples' Alliance beat not with Vigdis Finnbogadottir but another. This also applied to many regular members of the Peoples' Alliance.

Finnbogadottir received no less support from the Conservatives, the Progressive party and the Social Democrats than from the Peoples' Alliance. It would not have sufficed at all for Finnbogadottir to receive undivided support from the Peoples' Alliance. Her victory was based on support from all political parties.

The group that surrounded Finnbogadottir during the election was far from being of one political color. It stretched equally far to the left as it did to the right. By judging from the great variety of Finnbogadottir's supporters, she can truly be called the representative of the whole nation--the representative of all the political parties."

The Elections Did Not Evolve Around Defense Affairs

Thorarinn says further: "The presidential elections did not in any way evolve around foreign affairs nor defense affairs. Besides, these are parliamentary matters. It is therefore incorrect to get them mixed up in discussions about the results of the presidential election or to draw any conclusions as to what is the stand someone has taken in these matters.

It has, however, been pointed out that the position taken by Finnbogadottir and Kristjan Eldjarn regarding defense matters as presidential candidates was somewhat similar. Eldjarn was opposed to NATO when this subject was being discussed at that time. Before the presidential elections in 1968, however, Eldjarn gave a statement where he declared that he had had to bow to necessity.

What Icelander will not agree to the fact that we are members of NATO because of dire necessity? Who does not hope that the peace policy will become stronger; that military alliances will become unnecessary; and that the funds that are currently being invested in armament will be invested in eliminating misery and poverty? Without any doubt the whole Icelandic nation wishes that such developments will occur.

However, while incidents such as the one that took place in Afghanistan continue to occur, it is necessary to be on guard."

9583
CSO: 3111

BRIEFS

MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES' ACCORD--A new political alliance has been created in Reykjavik, the Communist Alliance, formed from the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Union and the (Marxist-Leninist) Icelandic Communist Party. The chairman of the alliance is Ari Trausti Gudmundsson and the vice-chairman is Gunnar Andresson. In an interview, MORGUNBLAD ID asked Ari Trausti Gudmundsson why this alliance had been considered necessary. "We think that past experience has demonstrated that parties that would like to be considered workers' parties are that in name only, except as far as they try for the working class vote--but lots of parties do that," Gudmundsson said. "We dont' consider those parties true representatives or advocates of the working class. For this reason we find it necessary to make a new alliance, even though it will only be one additional party among many. On the other hand, the most important thing is that the workers will find that they have a party which is worth supporting, even outside of the voting booth," said Gudmundsson, [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 10 Jun 80 p 5] 9584

OIL PRICES HIT FISHERMEN--If the 41-kronur price raise on oil proposed by the Price Council is passed by the government, it will mean an increase in expenses of 5.2 billion kronur for the fishing fleet this year, MORGUNBLAD was informed yesterday by Kristjan Ragnarsson, chairman of the National Fishermen's Union. He said that in many instances the fish price hike from last month would not be sufficient to make up for this raise in oil prices, which would cause particular problems because this time of year the catch consists mainly of less expensive types of fish. "I have noticed again and again that in this codfish season the fishermen tend to use their ships on a large scale," said Ragnarsson. "In many cases they can't keep ahead of their expenses, of which fuel takes up by far the greatest part. With prices like this, it doesn't pay to keep the ships operating unless the catch is an optimum one. If this price raise goes into effect, oil will be 40 to 50 percent higher here in Iceland than in neighboring countries. That would put us into a very critical situation, especially when you consider that oil taxes are now 2.5 percent, but they were 12 percent last summer. The taxes would have to be somewhat higher than they are now," said Kristjan Ragnarsson. [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 26 Jun 80 p 48] 9584

DECREASE IN FUEL OIL USE--In the first 4 months of this year, 85 thousand tons of fuel oil were sold here in Iceland, according to information released by Arni Olafur Larusson, deputy chairman of the board of Skeljungur, Inc. During the same period last year, 112 thousand tons of fuel oil were sold, making the decrease in sales 24.3 percent since last year. According to Larusson, there are various reasons for the decrease in fuel oil sales. The chief causes have been the changeover from fuel oil to crude oil on ships, improvements in the domestic steam heating network (most importantly in the Sudurnes area and in Akureyri), and finally a decreased use of fuel oil-dependent electricity resulting from new connections between energy districts and milder weather. [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 13 Jun 80 p 32] 9584

DECREASE IN GASOLINE SALES--In the first 4 months of this year, a minor decrease of .9 percent in gasoline sales occurred when compared with the same months last year, according to information released to MORGUNBLAD by Olafur Johnson, commerce specialist of Skeljungur, Inc. In the first four months of this year, 36,627,372 liters of gasoline were sold in Iceland, compared with 36,958,719 liters during the same time period last year. The decrease involved approximately 330 thousand liters. It should be mentioned that in the last few years gasoline sales have steadily increased from year to year, up until last year and this year. At the same time, the number of car owners in Iceland has steadily increased, which means that less gasoline per individual car is being sold than before. [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 14 Jun 80 p 48] 9584

'PRAVDA' COMMENTS--The election of Vigdis Finnbogadottir as the president of Iceland has been mentioned by the media in many countries, the Soviet newspapers for one. According to the APN NOVOSTI NEWS AGENCY in Iceland, IZVESTIA wrote about the results of the election and, according to the aforementioned source, stated among other things: "In the presidential elections that were held in Iceland 29 June, Vigdis Finnbogadottir won over her three fellow candidates. She was elected the president of Iceland by 33.6 percent of the votes, and that is the first time a woman is elected head of state in free elections. During discussions before the elections, Finnbogadottir had declared that she was opposed to military installations in Iceland, and that she was a pacifist. Her election was accepted with great eagerness in Iceland. Finnbogadottir is a representative of culture. She has for years been a theatre director, as well as being devoted to many other cultural matters." [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 4 Jul 80 p 3] 9583

CSO: 3111

SUMMARY OF TERRORIST ARRESTS IN SOUTHERN ITALY

'Revolutionary Action' Terrorists

Bari LA GAZZETTA DEL MEZZOGIORNO in Italian 1 Jun 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Franco Russo: "Is Minister Russo the Target of Terrorists?"]

> [Text] "Files" are found in the Manfredonia home of a youth studying architecture in Florence; they concern the DC [Christian Democratic Party] leader, attorney Tizzani, and the police. Photos and notes on Puglia police stations, barracks, and prisons. Does the student belong to "Revolutionary Action"?

Foggia--Minister of Regional Affairs Vicenzo Russo has been a terrorist target, as were attorney Bernadino Tizzani of Manfredonia--the town's DC leader--and four officers in the police and PS [Corps of Public Security Guards]. The terrorists' sights were also fixed on Puglia police stations and police barracks in Bari province. A 21 year-old youth, Michele Nicola Vero, of Manfredonia, an architecture student at the University of Florence, was arrested on a warrant issued by the Foggia government prosecutor on charges of "participation and association for the purposes of terrorism and flight to escape prosecution."

Foggia police investigators found in the Manfredonia dwelling some files concerning Vicenzo Russo, attorney Bernardino Tizzani, police and PS officers, untitled notes, names for which "profiles" were evidently to be supplied, complete maps of some police stations and barracks, photographs and notes on the Foggia prison (the new prison, visited by Gen Dalla Chiesa, could be included among the "security" prisons) and on other Puglian penitentiaries.

Although the investigations have lasted months, they seem to have only begun. Almost complete silence is being maintained concerning them. Investigations are taking place in two regions: Puglia and Tuscany, and more particularly Florence, where magistrates Vigna and Chelazzi (who are investigating "Revolutionary Action") are looking into the background of the arrested student and the confiscated documents. It actually appears that Michele Nicola Vero is only small fry, a subaltern "AR" ["Revolutionary Action"] emissary charged with pinpointing terrorist targets.

These targets have been moving gradually South after damaging defeats suffered in the North and in central Italy (including Naples). An underground organization that had resisted was "Revolutionary Action," which, however, was struck a major blow on 1 May (16 arrests in various Italian cities in an operation involving Bari, Taranto, Potenza, and Matera); the AR is continuing to gather data on possible objectives. The UIGOS [Office for General Investigations and Special Operations] of the Puglian police has followed up by intensifying their investigations and surveillance of suspects and their possible links to big-city terrorism. This operation turned up Michele Nicola Vero in Manfredonia.

Some days ago his house was searched and material confiscated that was immediately seen to be interesting. Two days later an arrest warrant was issued. The student was interrogated in prison and said that "this material" was given him to study. He may have been referring to the photos of the prisons and the notes on their construction and disposition; about the political files, Minister Russo, police and PS officers: total silence. It is not known whether he gave any answers; it would certainly be difficult to give and accept an explanation. He should have taken all the material to Florence. This may lead to other suspects, because UIGOS has found a clue linking the student's activity to an AR "big wheel" in Florence.

But there is another secret list of names that are being investigated. It seems that they are names of financiers and prison guards; the government finds it truly ridiculous that this list would be part of an academic exercise. There is a particular note in the untitled file about Minister Russo and attorney Tizzani that is certainly not "academic." It concerns their movements, jobs, and especially when and where they are under escort.

There is no longer any doubt that terrorism is moving South. Davide Fastelli, the "Fioroni" of "Revolutionary Action" arrested last 29 March, indirectly confirmed it by unleashing the raid of 1 May (and it was not by chance that on that occasion other interesting material was found hidden in a youth's home in San Giorgio Lucano in Basilicata). A female student from San Severo is being actively sought on a warrant for participation in armed gangs; but it was affirmed in Manfredonia that no fewer than four are suspected of belonging to terrorist organizations.

The South has always been a good source of supply for subversive organizations, as is indicated by the many Southern youths involved in various terrorist actions. The most notorious are Micaletto, from Lecca, and Fiore, from Bari. The latter was named by Peci as being one of the authors of the kidnapping of DC President Aldo Moro. The weakest ones, perhaps like Michele Nicola Vero, are used "for academic purposes" in the search for possible targets, such as a government minister, a barracks, a police station, a uniform to shoot at.

Sardinian 'Revolutionary Cell' Terrorist

Cagliari L'UNIONE SARDA in Italian 29 May 80 p 10

[Article: "New Polemics Following the Arrest of the Presumed Orun Terrorist"]

[Text] He is said to be a member of the "Revolutionary Cells."

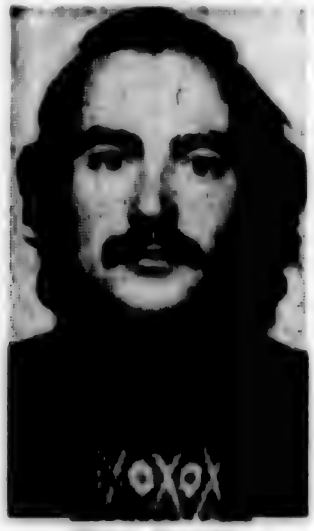
NUORO 28 May--The case of Pietro Moreddu (the Orun technical assistant accused of having participated in the attack on two magistrates' cars and in two other terrorist acts) continues to arouse polemics, but the first protests had to come from somewhere. The youth, as is known, has been in the Bad'e Carros jail since last Friday, arrested by UIGOS [Office for General Investigations and Special Operations] agents because questioning was said to have revealed indications that might somehow link him to the Revolutionary Cells, the terrorist organization that has claimed responsibility for the three attacks that Pietro Moreddu has been accused of.

Besides the attack on Tuesday of last week on the cars of the substitute government prosecutors there are the fire at the provincial Treasury offices on Via Lamarmora (on 18 August of last year) and the abortive dynamiting of the Chamber of Commerce (last 7 November). In all these attacks, timers were always used to escape the explosion, and this seems to be the accusation made against Pietro Moreddu. So far, however, the secret investigation has not made it known whether this accusation has held up.

What is certain is that the motion for release on grounds of insufficient evidence presented Monday by attorney Salvatore Ciusa, Moreddu's defense counsel, substitute government attorney Bruno Finocchiaro (the magistrate who directed the first phase of the inquest) has not yet replied, nor is it known for sure whether the Nuoro courts will carry out the investigation, at least until Pietro Moreddu's case is decided.

Meanwhile, the counterinformation committee for the defense of democratic and civil rights and New Left have published a document stating, among other things, that "there is no proof against Pietro Moreddu" and that "the accusations made against him have not been supported by concrete facts." The document continues by stating: "with the excuse of combating terrorism, cases like Moreddu's are happening before everybody's eyes: either you are loyal to the police state, the DC [Christian Democratic Party], its freedom-killing laws, and creeping fascism, or," the document says, "you're a supporter and accomplice of terrorism."

[Picture on next page]



Pietro Morreddu

Naples Arrests

Palermo IL GIORNALE DI SICILIA in Italian 22 May 80 p 17

[Article by Salvatore Maffei: "A Member of the 'Commando' Captured in Naples Was Working as a Baby-Sitter"]

> [Text] The terrorists face immediate trial. The girl worked for a family in the old quarter of the city. Important documents discovered in the hideout where the girl lived. Three accomplices still at large.

Naples--Very likely the four Red Brigades members of the Naples column will be given an early trial. The decision will be made in a couple of days, very soon after being handed over to the government's two substitute prosecutors responsible for prosecuting the DIGOS [Directorate for General Investigations and Special Operations] report. It will state, on the basis of findings from the police crime lab, whether the two bystanders were hit by bullets from policemen, judge Amato's chauffeur, or the terrorists. If the first hypothesis is true, there will be no obstacles to the immediate trial of Bruno Seghetti, Luca Nicoletti, Salvatore Colonna, and Maria Teresa Romeo for premeditated murder and manslaughter as well as possession of guns and bombs.

For the moment, the courts have received only a "notification" of the events of Monday morning. "All the rest we have read in the newspapers," they have told the government prosecutors. The appointed substitute prosecutors do not know what to say to the telephone calls from many magistrates involved in the BR [Red Brigades] investigation in Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Milan. Even the police have gotten into the dispute for not paying attention to what DIGOS has been doing. Major Candida has found out that Maria Teresa Romeo was baby-sitting on the most luxurious street in Naples, Via Orazio. She had found a job through an ad in a local paper. She was riding herd on the two 4 and 5 year-old children of Dr Luigi Valente, a food salesman, and his wife, a teacher.

The lady told the officer, "When I saw her face on television, I couldn't help exclaiming, 'Who have we been having baby-sit our children?!'"

Maria Teresa Romeo got a decree in sociology after the Patrica massacre, where government prosecutor Frosinone Felice Calvosa and his bodyguard were killed. One of the perpetrators, Roberto Capone, from Avellino, was killed by his companions by mistake during the escape. Maria Teresa Biondi (sentenced to 30 years) and Nicolo Valentino, sentenced to life, were married in the Cuneo prison.

With Maria Teresa Romeo, 7 Avillinese have become terrorists. The first was Alfredo Bonavolenta, arrested with Curcio and Franceschini in 1975 for kidnapping judge Sossi. Then there was Michele Castiello, an emigre in Turin, in whose home were found 24 photo enlargements of military, political, and industrial sites (the house was searched after the discovery of the Feltrinelli coven in Subiaco).

The third was Giuseppe Romeo (a relative of Maria Teresa?), an NAP [Proletarian Armed Nuclei] member with the alias of "Sergio," killed in Florence with Luca Mantini during the heist at the Leon Battista Alberti square Savings Bank. Then followed Roberto Capone, a sociology student, his unsuspectable fiancee Maria Rosaria Valentino, and now Maria Teresa Romeo.

DIGOS is looking for another girl, who also seems to be a Southerner, and two youths who formed the trio supporting the four Brigades members after the killing of Pino Amato.

The two youths are also thought to be Neapolitans like Salvatore Colonna, who has not been charged, though he is a suspect. The first time that the name of Colonna appeared on the DIGOS lists was when he was still saying he was "anti-terrorist." It happened on the morning of 22 November 1978 at the former Dominican monastery of Naples; he was there for having started the first trial of the Proletarian Armed Nuclei. Like all who go to the courthouse without an official purpose, Colonna had to show identification for entry in a register. The night before a photograph had been put in the card file; it had been taken by a plainclothesman who had infiltrated the news photographers.

The police anti-terrorism squad then suspected that the boy from Materdei might have been part of the 20-youth "commando" group that had broken into the press group on the eve of the trial for a demonstration "raid" with Molotov cocktails and red-paint bombs. But the suspects remained suspects.

Police headquarters says that Gilda Vianale was a friend of Colonna's. She is the sister of Maria Pia, who is married and has two children, and was interrogated at length by DIGOS but then released. Contrary to implications, she could not have put the youth in contact with terrorists.

Salvatore had left his family some months before. His father has a fruit and vegetable store in the Materdei section, and Salvatore had telephoned him for the last time on 28 April.

No word since then. Then at lunch time on Monday came a cry from Giuseppina, the sister, who was pointing at the television set: "It's Salvatore!" The television reporter was showing pictures of the three unidentified members who had just been taken to the police station.

Casoria is a town that has grown tumultuously at the gates of Naples in recent years. There the police discovered the hideout of Maria Teresa Romeo: a room sublet from a widow. The girl received her "friends" there.

The most significant document is the order from the detained members: "Observe the police armor around the maximum security prison."

This first order was followed by one from the "incarcerated companions": "coordinate the autonomous collectives in the South."

At the hideout there was the detailed plan to kill Pino Amato. For the police, competing with DIGOS, it was a big haul. The plan assigned tasks with the aliases, and from these, with the help of Peci and others, it was possible to identify members of the Naples column.

Also found were leaflets demanding action by the "South Rome Column," and a long list of apartments and automobiles, which are being investigated.

Investigations are under way in Naples and Avellino, and in the center and south of Italy of dozens of telephone numbers found in a calendar. The numbers were in code, but anti-terrorist specialists broke the code in a few hours.

Nor was there lacking a list of DC [Christian Democratic Party] politicians. Beside the names were various abbreviations, such as, for example, "F.I." [expansion unknown].

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RESULTS OF 'DIGOS' ANTITERRORIST SWEEP IN TURIN

Rome L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO in Italian 10 May 80 p 10

[Article: "New Anti-Terrorism Operation"]

[Text] In Turin and elsewhere operations still under way have netted 15 arrests, 5 provisional arrests, and many searches.

Fifteen arrests, 5 provisional arrests, and various searches of apartments in the city: these are the initial results of a vast new anti-terrorism operation conducted by DIGOS [Directorate for General Investigations and Special Operations] in Turin and currently in other Italian cities.

The investigators have maintained top secrecy on what has happened, and it has not been possible to find out the names of those who have been jailed. But the accusation is explicit: "participation in armed gangs." Even the name of the organization that has fallen into the net of justice is unknown. Our sources guess it may be the "Front Line."

One thing is certain: all that has happened to the fugitives' underworld is due to the confessions of Fenzi and Sedda.

Interrogations of Red Brigades and Front Line members are being held according to magistrates, in the prisons of Pescara and Vercelli, respectively.

Only one name is noteworthy among those arrested: a humanities teacher at a technical school in Sesto San Giovanni, Milan, Piero Del Giudice, age 40, a native of Castellaneta Marina, in Puglia, for 20 years a resident of Milan. His arrest was made on the basis of a warrant issued by the Milan courts. The last time Piero Del Giudice was heard of was on 16 March 1978, the day Aldo Moro was kidnapped. The name of Del Giudice and his photo appeared by mistake in the announcement put out by the ministry of Internal Affairs containing 32 prestamo "Brigadiers," among whom were Moretti, Fenzi, and Alunni.

Del Giudice was a notorious personage at the end of the 1960's. He was a member of the Marxist-Leninist Union and had long worked in Calabria. Then

he transferred to the North, where he taught for years in the De Nicola industrial technical institute in Sesto San Giovanni. Among his students was the young Walter Alasia, or "Luca" for the Red Brigades, who was killed on 15 December 1976 in a shootout with the police.

Among the other 17 people investigation, which was conducted in cooperation with the police, there were 4 or 5 women, one of whom is a juvenile. All are students or workers. Some names were already known to the investigators.

It is said that in the course of the sweep a "coven" was discovered in Recco, on the Ligurian riviera, and one in Finale Ligure.

The investigation and its results were also felt in Bergamo, where 4 people were recently arrested. In the case of one of them, whose name was not released, he is said to be on a list of about 100 names of higher secondary school teachers. Most of them were lecturers at Bergamo technical schools. By some of the names were addresses and personal information.

Those arrested are all accused of "subversive association and participation in armed gangs" and have been linked to the activities of the "armed cells of national insurrection."

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CSO: 3104

FIVE 'FRONT LINE' TERRORISTS ARRESTED IN TURIN, MILAN

Palermo IL GIORNALE DI SICILIA in Italian 21 May 80 p 12

[Article: "Another Blow Against the 'Front Line': 1 Arrested in Turin, 4 in Milan"]

> [Text] A railroad worker, 3 elementary school teachers, and a youth from Grugliasco. Some say they were identified by a leader of the Red Brigades (under the name of Fabrizio Peci).

Turin--A widening circle of terrorists belonging to the Front Line organization are being arrested. Yesterday the Turin police captured a youth from Valle di Susa, where Front Line had a permanent "fire group" made up of a dozen people, most of whom are now in jail. The youth is Bruno Giorgio Peirolo, age 24, a National Railways worker and resident of Bussolengo, Turin.

The examining magistrate issued a warrant for subversive association and participating in armed gangs. Yesterday's arrest is considered the natural consequence of the investigation of Front Line launched 3 months ago; it has put in jail 34 presumed terrorists belonging to this organization (4 of whom were arrested in Milan in recent days).

The Milan police have made public the names of 4 arrestees, thus breaking the strict secrecy of the Turin investigators.

Arrested for participating in an armed gang and subversive association were Franco Albesano, 22, from Grugliasco, Turin, and a resident of Orbassano, Turin; and Vicenza Fioroni, 30, an elementary school teacher from Montefalco, Perugia. Albesano, who was arrested on Frattini square, was found in possession of a loaded 9-caliber Browning pistol, two 12-shot cartridges, loaded, a pineapple hand grenade, and various false identity cards.

Fioroni was arrested in a Via D'Alviano apartment, where the other two people were earlier charged and arrested: Licinia Floralba Cassago, 30, from Brescia, the owner of the apartment, and Marco Luisi, 24, from Milan. Both were teachers at the Via Quarenghi elementary school in Milan and were arrested for complicity. Documents of current value to the investigators were also found in the apartment.

The operation was conducted jointly by the Milan and Turin police anti-terrorist squads and lasted some days; the investigators started with the identification of two apartments, at 11-12 Via Uruguay and 19 Via D'Alviano, which seem to have been bases of operations.

Police investigations of the Red Brigades are also continuing. Following the arrest of Fiat worker Dante Di Biasi, a FIM-CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions] member, the announcement was made yesterday that another brigadier had been captured. The investigators, however, will not confirm or deny this. According to some sources, the capture of the presumed brigadier was also the result of Patrizio Peci's information. The repentant brigadier is said to have given only the nom de guerre, but managed to find out his true identity as well.

If this version is confirmed, it will involve another "unsuspectable" element, i.e. someone with a "polite" activity. However, other leaks indicate that the arrested Turinese is a first-rank Red Brigades member who has been sought for years and been involved in the most serious Red Brigades terrorist attacks, such as the Via Fani massacre. But as long as information is lacking from official sources, that will remain a matter of conjecture.

Fioralba Cassago Marco Luisi Franco Albesano Vincenza Fioroni

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CSO: 3104

HOEKSTRA ADDRESSES 27th CPN CONGRESS

Amsterdam DE WAARHEID in Dutch 9 Jun 80 pp 5,6

[Speech made by Henk Hoekstra, president of the CPN, at the 27th Congress of the CPN, on 4 June 1980 in Amsterdam: "For a New Direction in Dutch Politics"]

[Text] At the 26th congress of our party, we decided to do our utmost for the formation of new coalitions. This referred to struggle coalitions, to a democratic power formation against the right.

Through action and together with others we wanted to open up perspectives for an alternative to the course taken by the current regime. To make this possible, it was necessary to strengthen our own actions and our contacts with the masses.

The foundations for all of this were worked out by our 26th congress (January 1978). In preparing this congress, we primarily concerned ourselves with the question: what came of it -- and what next?

This will occupy a central position during the next few days of our 27th congress. What is certain, is that the decisions of the 26th congress have played an extraordinarily inspirational role. For communists, but, as we know, also for others who, together with us, have joined the struggle for peace, for the defense of the standard of living and for democracy. For many people this struggle took on an unexpectedly large dimension.

When we note that the rightist forces did not succeed in paralyzing or intimidating the labor movement, then it is certain that the communists have contributed to this to an important extent.

New Experiences, New Situations

It must be said that the communists have played an important role in the actions, but also that the actions, and especially the cooperation with others in them, have had a large influence on our party, its work, its party life and on decision making. And this is the way it should be. Our ideological foundations and party principles are not a dead issue. On the contrary, they lead us to being more open to ever new experiences in new situations.

It would be interesting -- albeit in a nutshell and thus incompletely --, using a series of decisions which were made during the last 2 years, the period between our congresses, to point out developments.

On 20 February 1978, the executive committee called for support of the anti-neutron bomb demonstration and the international forum which was to take place in Amsterdam on 18-19 March. Everybody knows the international significance of the anti-neutron bomb movement.

On 16 May 1978, the executive committee issued a statement in which the communists were called to provide leadership in the opposition to the right. This was then directed against the announced budget cut operation, which was clearly aimed at breaking down a great deal of what had been achieved through years of struggle.

On 19 August 1978, the party leadership protested against the refusal by the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany to extradite war criminals being sought by the Netherlands.

On 19 August 1978, the party leadership, in a resolution, drew up a critical intermediary balance sheet of the application of the decisions made by the 26th congress. It was decided that the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands] should wage an uncompromising struggle against Specifications '81. This was elaborated in a statement by the executive committee, issued on 9 September 1978, which ended in an appeal to the people: "Reject Blueprint for '81 -- Join together to achieve this goal!"

On 9 December 1978, the party leadership issued the appeal: "Blueprint for '81 must be pushed aside -- this can be achieved through a united struggle, through the organization of action leadership." It included an incentive to the formulation of their own demands for the maintenance of purchasing power and the standard of living, for the struggle against unemployment and for the protection of social and cultural benefits.

On 26 February 1979, the executive committee set up a Committee on Indonesia of the CPN, to strengthen solidarity with the Indonesian freedom fighters.

On 22 April 1979, in a statement on nuclear energy, the party leaders of the CPN took the position that the nuclear plants in Dodewaard and Borsele should be closed. This was a reaction to the discussion, which had already been going on for years among the people, about the dangers of nuclear energy. The events in Harrisburg had shown how staggering these risks are. The statement also called for a strengthening of joint actions against nuclear armament. Our party's attitude with regard to nuclear energy has since then become clearer and battle ready.

On 2 May 1979, the executive committee called for a large scale commemoration and celebration on 4 and 5 May for the maintenance of the anti-fascist traditions of resistance and for the restoration of 5 May as the yearly national holiday.

On 7 June 1979, the executive committee stressed the need for mass participation in the anti Specifications'81 demonstration, which was to culminate on 23 June of that year on the Dam in Amsterdam.

On 27 September 1979, the party leadership issued a manifesto entitled: "The Harbor Strike -- A Breakthrough." Later on, the breakthrough function which the harbor strike in Rotterdam played in many aspects, was recognized by everyone. The FNV [Netherlands Trade Union Federation] leaders spoke of a "new reality" which had been created. It is unfortunate that later on some of the leaders of the FNV again displayed so little sense of reality.

On 29 October 1979, the executive committee pressed for every effort to stop the American and NATO plan for new nuclear missiles. Large demonstrations took place at that time.

On 7 December 1979, our party welcomed the unambiguous decision of the House against the stationing of Pershing and cruise nuclear missiles. It was an important victory for the mass movement. We called for continued watchfulness and strengthened cooperation.

On 5 January 1980, the party leaders issued a warning against plans by the Federation of Labor for a wage action.

On 18 February 1980, the executive committee called for struggle against the new enabling legislation through which the government wanted to reduce purchasing power and terminate social and other benefits.

On 27/29 March, the party leaders decided on publication of the documents, in the form of four draft resolutions, for this congress.

Thus, considering the activities and experiences of the party, it was not by chance that the proposals for decision making at this congress are centered on the struggle for peace, on the socio-economic struggle, on parliamentary work, with elections in the offing, and on the party itself.

In this regard, we should not forget our weighty decision to purchase a new press, a decision which should safeguard the future of DE WAARHEID.

All of this is not a complete review. There were numerous publications concerning international activities of our party, and points of view about national and international events were recorded in numerous statements and comments.

It may be useful to refresh the memory and this may also provide an answer to the questions of why many more subjects were not mentioned in the draft resolutions.

We have tried not to repeat those things which have already been decided, which are included in our action and demand program, for which communists are working day in day out.

Yet, we cannot be satisfied with everything. In all our activities, our shortcomings also come to the fore. The most important shortcoming is too slow a growth rate for the party; appreciation of our policy is insufficiently converted into a strengthening of the CPN.

The elections also show an insufficient recuperation of the CPN. This must change. This is of the greatest importance for us, for all democrats, for all those who anticipate the formation of a progressive majority.

We hope that this congress will also contribute to the clarification of our ideas and points of view.

Three Areas of Coalition

What has happened since our last congress to the idea of forming new coalitions and what should our further orientation be?

We can ascertain that the formation of coalitions has taken shape in three areas.

This is true in the area of the struggle for peace -- the actions against the neutron bomb and the new missile systems.

This is true in the area of the social struggle, which includes a very wide spectrum -- the wage struggle, housing and squatters actions, the movements in the areas of health care, education and welfare work, the actions against unemployment and company closures, and the defense of social benefits.

A great deal of this merged in the "Specifications '81 must be eliminated" movement. The results of the popular congress in Groningen, which is a really exemplary form of cooperation for regional interests, was also particularly significant.

The third area of coalition formation includes a large number of democratic movements, such as the anti-fascist struggle, the actions against the increasing use of violence by the authorities against the opposition, the defense of the right to strike, the struggle for union rights, the struggle for legislation of abortion.

The interesting aspect of this democratic struggle is that it not only had a defensive character, but that it also managed to extract rights.

As a result of countless expressions and manifestations of the national will for independence which could not be broken, of democratic and anti-fascist feelings, the House has now, 35 years after the war, expressed itself in favor of designating 5 May as a national holiday. This decision must be made into a reality.

In all the areas mentioned -- and in many others -- there was cooperation, and forms of coalition were established whereby communists often acted as

initiators and established bonds among those who belong together as progressive, peace loving people. Along the way, we ourselves also took a /first step/ [printed in italics] in breaking through sectarian isolation. This is absolutely necessary if we want to proceed further with the development of joint activities.

Looking at the whole picture, the joining together of the opposition against the right from within the population was the most important characteristic of this coalition formation. This led to confrontations with the government policy, but also with those who wanted to make concessions to it or those who preached resignation.

The coalitions which came about were varied in kind, goal and composition, but the common characteristic was that they were meeting places for progressive people with different views of life or religious persuasion. In many cases, a dialogue was created which went much further than the reason for which the meeting was being held at that time. This dialogue was often directed toward the future.

Because communists can play an important and inspirational role, we have the duty to develop our vision concerning the question as to what is to happen next. As a matter of fact, the formation of coalitions as opposition to the right is an important and vital first step in the total process of necessary democratic power-formation.

Tearing Down Barriers

Next, to our way of thinking we should now work toward the formation of a progressive majority aimed, not only at carrying on the opposition for as long as this is necessary, but also to effect a change of direction in Dutch politics.

This means that further association, further cooperation, is necessary for a new government policy, the main aspect of which would be:
- the defense of the standard of living,
- the defense of democracy,
- a peace loving government policy in which willingness is expressed to make its own contribution to detente and arms reduction.

In our opinion, these are the main points about which agreement should be sought.

In the opposition, many individuals found each other in favor of a progressive change in the direction of Dutch politics, that is to say in favor of a change of government and of government policies.

However, a great deal of work will still have to be done to tear down the barriers -- among us and among others, to eliminate contempt for the creativity achieved in mass movements, and especially to fight the ever recurring turning to the right of Den Uyl, Van der Stoel and Groenevelt.

This will still require a great deal of debate and application of our strengths. On the other hand, nobody can deny that in all areas of society the situation is getting worse by the day and this makes an /initiative/ [printed in italics] toward the actual formation of a progressive majority imperative.

Therefore we are making an appeal, from this congress, to members, staffs and leaders, first of all of the PvdA [Labor Party], the PPR [Political Party of Radicals] and the PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party], and to progressive groups and individuals elsewhere, to bring about this progressive majority wherever possible, in actions, in cities, neighborhoods and villages, in municipal councils and in parliament.

Let us achieve a practical unification of forces where common demands and views exist, and let us achieve a dialogue or deepen it where it already exists, a dialogue about the establishment of a progressive alternative, for a change in the direction taken by the government and for setting new priorities.

Our position is: we want that. We will do our utmost for it. We are willing to negotiate at all levels about real alternatives for this time and these circumstances.

In our opinion, this can be based on the results which have been achieved in recent years in terms of the formation of coalitions, on the demands which have been formulated in the struggle, and on the fact that a new political reality, directed toward the formation of a progressive majority, has been created by the most active part of the Dutch population.

If we go from here and we are willing to work for it, then agreement will be possible and compromises, with maintenance of one's own identity, will also become possible.

Get to Work Immediately

The task now lies in getting to work immediately. For a very large number of people, especially the so-called "weak" in society, there is the threat that the standard of living will come tumbling down catastrophically. The opposition is met more and more by threats of violence. Arms levels are being driven up.

This state of affairs has also forced others to reflection. Even within Christian democratic circles there are people who could at least be counted as tolerant of a progressive majority, but who could possibly also be turned into partners or active participants.

Based on practical experience, a few conclusions can be drawn.

One should not wait until the party leaders break down the barriers. Experience has taught that this is fruitless. To wait for that leads to freezing.

It appears to be a hard fact that when people themselves develop new models of cooperation through their own activities and their own resourcefulness, this carries through irresistably into the parties and can lead them to new positions. Look at how it worked in the peace actions, the social struggle, the struggle for women's rights, and the squatters actions.

A great deal of what was achieved there anticipated party positions and certainly parliamentary decisions.

This demonstrates the influence and democratic value of mass movements.

It is all the more important then to strengthen communist representation in parliamentary bodies, because communist representatives are, more than anyone else, capable of achieving interaction between inter- and extra-parliamentary action.

All these subjects were discussed a great deal in the preparation of our congress, during membership meetings and conferences. Outstanding among them are those things which under the present concrete circumstances, in broad outline, should be the content of communist policy in the Netherlands.

The Crisis

During the discussions in preparation for our congress, the situation in which our country finds itself and the consequences of the very far reaching crisis of capitalism were discussed very seriously.

On an international level, the unprecedented problems which face the capitalist system -- under circumstances of increased inequality of forces within that system -- lead to a sharpening of the competitive struggle and of contradictions. The hope for a restoration of the economy came to nothing; in a number of countries a new stagnation is taking place and economic activity is declining. The increased rivalry is expressed in far reaching disturbances of the international monetary system. Nor did anything come of regulation or coordination.

In this capitalist jungle, the policy of the monopolies is directed toward subordinating everything to their interest. Everything must accomodate itself to their competitive struggle, their striving for increased power, and their armaments policy. This policy of the monopolies, to which governments have submitted themselves, is the greatest threat to the workers in capitalist countries and to the Third World.

While our country was being ravaged by this continuing crisis, with mass unemployment and fierce attacks on everything that is decisive for the standard of living, the multi-national corporations and the banks managed, practically without exceptions, to strengthen their positions. They profited from the policy of retrenchment, which at the same time proved to have ruinous consequences for countless medium sized and small businesses.

Nothing Solved

The shifting of the consequences of the crisis onto the working population did not solve anything, but increased the problems.

Unemployment is going up at all levels of the population, the young as well as the old. Among women, registered unemployment has gone up to more than 8 percent; the reality is much worse yet.

The increase and long duration of unemployment are also connected with the liquidation of industries which are of the greatest importance for the national economy of our country and with the shrinking of the number of jobs elsewhere.

Because of capital export, enormous amounts of capital are being withdrawn from the restoration of the economy and of employment. In order to achieve a real restoration of the economy, it will be necessary to break through the politics of big capital.

- To this effect, Specifications '81 must be forced back.
- To this effect, all measures for retrenchment which lead to a breaking down of the standard of living and of puchasing power, must be fought.
- To this effect, new and different savings which are sound must be achieved, at the cost of armaments, the profits of monopolies and banks, and the very high incomes.
- To this effect, a voice and the right to make decisions must be established for the working class and its organizations -- primarily with regard to problems which concern its direct interests and are related to wages, jobs and management.

These are just demands, but also conditions for a restoration of the economy which, as a result of government policy, directed toward the interests of the multi-nationals, has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire.

The view that the crisis requires precisely a combative and renovating policy is gaining ground. Opposition to ideas of accomodation, as they have also been expressed by a number of leaders from the PvdA and the FNV [Netherlands Trade Unions Federation], is growing.

Our party and its scientific institute IPSO [Institute for Political and Social Research] not only issued warnings against the dangers of the government policy and compliance with it, but also produced alternatives. And we worked these alternatives out in detail and presented them for discussion.

Price Compensation Bottom Line

Because of the worsening situation, it seems absolutely necessary for us -- also within the framework of the formation of a progressive majority -- to continue to work on concrete proposals for a different socio-economic policy. In this regard, inspiration and strength must be drawn from the actions which have been conducted and which will be carried out in increasing number.

We are well aware that the growing combativeness leads to concern among those who wish for a return to the PvdA-CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] coalition model and who accuse the Rotterdam strikers of making unrealistic demands and creating illusions.

But our question is: who have really held and propagated illusions? It was those who for years have promised and pledged that the crisis could be overcome through retrenchment, through a reduction of social benefits, and through an increase in profits. They have failed; they should not have the illusion that the people will resign themselves and once again entrust their social security and future to such a policy.

The draft resolution on the socio-economic struggle emphatically stresses the need for action, for unity in action, for action committees and for a strengthening of the unions in terms of size and combativeness. A great deal of what will happen in the future will depend on what happens now. Because it will not be possible for a long time to restore what is torn down now. Workers, unemployed, recipients of WAO [Law on Labor Disability] benefits, recipients of AOW [General Old Age Insurance Act] benefits and many others would have to bear the consequences.

How can one, now that the prices are skyrocketing, ask people to resign themselves to a wage freeze and to a corrosion of price compensation? Out of respect for the government's enabling legislation? If one talks about at least maintaining the standard of living of the workers, does this not in the very first place then require full compensation of price and cost increases? This should, at the very least, be the /bottom line/ [printed in italics] of the requests which are being formulated.

Squatters

Over a wide front and on an ever greater number of issues, people are standing up for their standard of living, for living conditions, for a democratic voice and the right to decision making.

The squatters movement, for example. It took the problem of housing shortage, the right to a roof over one's head and to adequate living space, out of the realm of the official "understanding" and the well known "it receives our continued attention." The squatters demanded action. The significance of this struggle will undoubtedly have to be included in the decisions of our congress.

With all kinds of means, attempts were made -- and there were provocations -- to push the action leaders in a questionable position. But their demands for an affordable living space for everyone correspond to the interests of hundreds of thousands of housing seekers in the whole country and should be included in the demands of all progressive people and parties!

Environmental Demands

The same is true for the demands concerning the environment, especially now that it appears that whole residential areas and parks and who knows what else were built on soil which had been poisoned by the chemical industry...

Warnings about this from experts, from among the people, and from committees were ignored. For years, matters were hushed up. But it has been more than clearly proven that problems of a beautiful and safe environment cannot be a question of confidence either. They require a sharp democratic control, by municipal councils and by committees and organizations which have set protecting the environment and the housing and living condition as their goal.

Struggle for Women's Liberation

It is very important that, during the preparation for our congress, the struggle for women's rights and its significance were discussed with so much emphasis. What is at stake here is a struggle for liberation which, in terms of its goals and of the actions taken to achieve them, also exhibits a strongly uniting character.

We know from experience that this struggle is very intimately tied to actions for social rights, peace, democracy and socialism.

The wave of the women's rights struggle, which has become so strong in recent years, has added new strengths, dimensions and ideas to the striving for renewal in society. A democratic struggle is not possible if there is resignation to subordination, discrimination or oppression of women in whatever form it may occur.

The fact that this problem played such an important role in the discussions is of great positive significance. As a result, we will be able to clarify and emphasize more strongly the decision making of our congress in the resolutions, particularly with regard to the women's liberation struggle.

Comments have been made concerning the introduction I made in the party leadership in preparation for the discussions on the congress within our party. It was postulated therein that we were aiming for decision making concerning major issues -- without wanting to label other issues as secondary matters.

This has led to certain misunderstandings, and if this is so, then the formulation was not clear enough. It would be better to say that, at this congress, we want to make decisions about /main issues of orientation/ [printed in italics], which should help inspire the action of every member of our party, in whatever field he or she may be active as a communist.

In any case, in this regard the party discussion has produced an important stimulation.

No Risks, Fear Less

Taking a look at the political picture, it can be noted that opposition to the right is escalating in volume as well as in quality. In a large number of areas, its demands offer alternatives for a new policy for our country. It is a movement for renewal and, as such, it goes much further than simply protesting.

It means a stand against those things which have become obsolete and which no longer have any future.

At the same time, the rightist forces in our country are taking tougher stands. The police are called in for everything which those in authority do not like. Even foreign workers who, as victims of employers' practices, must look for asylum in churches have to suffer for it. We find this completely intolerable and intolerable.

Violence and intimidation are increasingly used against democratic movements. The chain of actions by the Nuclear Unit is getting longer and longer. In order to defend this escalating violence, the right uses a few unstable elements as an alibi.

Vengeance often comes to the fore too, especially against the rebelliousness of young people who, in the face of a continued hollowing out of democracy and of their most elementary rights, sometimes reach for desperate means of protest.

Clubs, tear gas or even worse, do not help here. What does work is to make a reality of the right to work, the right to a future.

Those who cannot ensure these rights, but in spite of this set themselves up as authorities, who will teach manners, invite grave dangers for democracy.

Meanwhile, a debate has also originated within police circles about the bad consequences of such a glorification of violence. That is very valuable.

Because of the insecurity in our country, there is every reason to break through the current situation and together to build new, positive goals.

International Tensions Increased

As we all realize, a serious sharpening of the international situation has occurred, especially during the last year. The president of the United States, Carter, has, for quite some time now, been busy with driving up tensions. This is reflected in the raising of NATO demands in the area of armaments, in the plans for new nuclear missile systems, in the repression of liberation movements in the Third World, in interference by the United States in matters of the European NATO countries when democratic developments take place there, in the refusal to ratify the SALT II treaty.

When we talk about increasing tensions, this also relates to sharpened relationships among the imperialist powers and countries. This sharpening is the result of the competitive struggle whipped up by the crisis, through which war situations are created when spheres of influence are at stake.

The Near and Middle East have long been such an area of disputes about the ownership of oil sources and their yield. At the same time, however, like everywhere else, national liberation movements are also gaining ground there; they want to see the riches of the earth used in the interest of their own population, repressed for centuries by colonialism, instead of continuing to hand them to oil corporations and capitalist powers.

In very complicated patterns, the struggle among large imperialist powers -- with all the inherent intrigues -- and the struggle for national independence are intermingling here.

Anyone looking for solutions in such a situation must orient himself toward the interests of the peoples and not toward those of the oil magnates with their obscure manipulations.

The events surrounding Afghanistan, which borders on this extremely volatile area, have substantially heightened the tensions.

Everywhere the question arises: will this lead to a new cold war or even worse?

The answer to this not only requires a further study of the situation, but also an assessment of what we can do ourselves. In this respect, any fatalism must be fought as was postulated in the draft resolution on the struggle for peace.

Need Not Repeat Past

Will the past be able to repeat itself or would it be possible to prevent a recurrence? We should realize that the current situation is not the same as the one which existed during the worst cold war period in the fifties and the sixties.

In those years, imperialism strived for roll back, a rolling back of socialism, and preparations were made for military aggression against the socialist countries. This was accompanied by wild anti-Soviet in the United States and Western Europe.

The world was poisoned by a consumptive cold war anti-communism. All of this undoubtedly still plays a role, and yet the policy of the imperialists from the Truman and the Adenauer failed -- partly as a result of the enormous efforts of the peace fighters.

Not only all the communist parties in the capitalist countries remain alive during that period, in many cases they even laid the foundations for a further deployment of their activities in the future.

More socialist countries joined up, the liberation movement became really worldwide in scope and is present everywhere in the Third World.

This is certainly not the same world picture as during the cold war period, when there was still a question of United States hegemony over the capitalist countries. Even this has changed: just look at how Carter's cold war hysteria surrounding the Olympic Games has run aground on the unwillingness of others to follow suit.

In spite of the harassment, in spite of a promise of damnation by Carter and Strauss, a meeting did take place between the presidents of France and of the Soviet Union, Giscard d'Estaing and Brezhnev. With the approval of Chancellor Schmidt and numerous realistic forces in Western Europe.

The contradictions within the imperialist camp which were already present during the cold war period, have become much sharper.

This carries dangers with it, but it also provides enormous opportunities and perspectives to democratic and peace loving forces, to fighters for socialism. As long as they make themselves heard, and do not allow themselves to be discouraged or manipulated by anything or anyone.

This is what we should realize; we should further study and work out this understanding. Moreover, here is a task for the whole international communist movement.

If we do not do this, then we run the risk of being imprisoned in a kind of treadmill of ever repeating threats. Nothing is so frustrating and besides also so untrue.

Capitalism does not have a single positive way out of the problems called up by current developments in the world. The international communist movement has not yet found the answer to this. I should say that, on this subject, a great deal of thinking is being done, and opinions differ -- and often rather substantially.

The latter is not so surprising considering the scope of the problems and the very large diversity of communist activities. This diversity excludes uniformity, but at the same time it makes completely new forms of coordination of forces and actions for common interests possible.

Precisely in today's situation, each communist party itself must take action in favor of detente and disarmament. There will not be any international action for peace and detente if the peace forces in every country, and thus the communist parties, do not strengthen their activities in their own country and among themselves.

Militarism

The struggle for peace is directed against the warmongers, against imperialism, against the military-industrial complex. But a position in favor of peace and detente also means taking a stand in the international communist movement for an active policy of peace, for the coordination of forces in this respect, for well prepared and thorough discussions of the problems related to this.

For us and for all those who advocate the development of the struggle for peace, it is primarily important to emphasize the decisive significance of the struggle of the masses in the capitalist countries and in the Third world.

There are those who, when peace problems are discussed, think exclusively in terms of a balance of power and want to subordinate everything to this.

It is a fact that the growing power of the socialist countries has deterred the imperialists from a military attack on these countries and that an historic change has taken place in the power relationships in the world.

Yet, to think exclusively in terms of a balance of power will not lead to arms reduction or to a lessening of tensions in the world. We know that over and over again the United States, based on a false appeal for balance, takes the initiative for a further armament of ever more threatening dimensions. The Soviet Union interfered in Afghanistan because it said that it felt threatened. Thus, Afghanistan landed between the millstones of the international power relationships. Such a development does not solve anything.

The balance of power positions did not produce a single reduction in armaments. Liberation movements and democratic movements in capitalist countries are often classified as balance of power strategies. The fact that these exist is cut on purpose after a second world war, after a cold war and a roll back policy, including the creation of military blocs.

However, because of the above mentioned new circumstances in the world, we must go further, and the masses in capitalist countries and in the Third world as well as socialist countries are demanding peace and detente.

The struggle for peace and disarmament, for more money for the peoples in the Third world, for the standard of living in the capitalist countries, for greater democracy, for a better view of the future, as it is carried out in the capitalist countries and in the Third world, as an autonomous movement, is of the utmost significance in the current situation.

The outcome of their struggle, of their partnership, against their oppressors, against arms capital and imperialism, is a determining element in the struggle for peace and detente, for the prevention of an East-West or a North-South confrontation.

Detente Policy for Netherlands

Under the present circumstances, what should a policy of detente for our country involve?

- The Netherlands should not allow itself to be swept along with the Carter policy, which lacks any reliable and stable element.
- It is necessary to realize to what extent social and economic need in the Netherlands is connected to the extreme arms burdens and the increasing of tensions.
- Right now, the matter at hand is to promote East-West contacts in Europe, and to develop a dialogue at all kinds of levels about detente, about arms reduction, about an improvement of relationships, about the full applicability of the Helsinki agreement. We are in favor of contacts between governments and between political parties, we are in favor of unrestricted development of trade and of cultural relations, and we are against the boycott of the Olympic Games.
- Support from the Netherlands for solutions to conflicts in areas of tension, such as with regard to Afghanistan. Because, beyond all emotions and beyond all interpretations of events, what is at stake here is the finding of a political solution and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country as soon as possible.
- In view of the poignant problems of the peoples in the Third World, drastic measures are needed for the benefit of real solidarity. A significant contribution to this could be the idea -- which was also included in the joint communique of the Cuban Communist Party and the CPN -- of creating an international fund of at least $100 billion for financial, material and technical aid to developing countries.
- Above all, a policy of detente requires the continuation of the struggle, within the Netherlands, against the neutron bomb and against new nuclear missiles, for an arms reduction here, and for the relevant concrete goals which were formulated in the draft resolution on the struggle for peace.

International Contacts

Thus, it is clear that our party needs an international policy, specifically in order to provide its activities in our own country with a deeper meaning and better prospects.

The 25th congress instructed the party leaders to conduct an active international policy, to support cooperation with all communist and workers parties and to strengthen relations with these parties.

We did a great deal of work in this area, especially because the struggle for peace and against imperialism requires an international coordination of forces. However, what we had in mind was not a formal normalization and re-establishment of relations, but the achievement of common action for common goals.

It appears that, in this way, it becomes possible to talk over differences of opinion; ways can be found to conduct constructive discussions about these differences; and rifts can be mended. In this spirit, we have tried to establish contacts which are as open as possible, with parties from capitalist and from socialist countries. Thus, there have been numerous visits of delegations back and forth, among which were study delegations; IPSO has participated in and taken the initiative itself for international scientific and study meetings; and our newspaper exchanges information with newspapers from other communist parties. When we received delegations here, we brought them into direct contact, as much as possible, with the districts, branches and militants of our party.

We hope that the presence of so many representatives of parties from abroad at our congress, will also lead to a more intensive getting to know one another. From experience, we can say that all the experiences we acquired have helped us develop a better understanding of the struggle of others, as we have been able to give others a better understanding of our activity. We have primarily been able to make a contribution to the struggle for peace and against nuclear armament; and we have helped promote the international scope of it.

We feel a strong bond with the international communist movement, with the fighters for peace, freedom, independence and socialism anywhere in the world. On our side, we will do our utmost to strengthen the joint action toward our large common goals, based on our own responsibility and on the need to achieve progress in our own country.

We are striving for a widening of our contacts, to include other progressive forces, particularly in the countries of the Third World, because solidarity with them is a mutual condition for success in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Indonesia

Of great importance is our party's Committee on Indonesia, which the executive committee set up in February 1979. From the congress, we are issuing a call for greater solidarity with our comrades in Indonesia, with the PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia].

There are an increasing number of reports from Indonesia pointing to growing opposition to the Suharto regime among all groups of the population. As a result of the actions of the Indonesian freedom fighters and as a result of international solidarity, a large number of political prisoners were freed, people who now have to live as pariahs. But it remains a crying shame that those people who were sentenced to death many years ago by Suharto's military courts, are still being held in concentration camps. They are exposed to extreme privations. We will not rest until they -- you, particularly they -- have been freed. It is the duty of every communist in the Netherlands or anywhere in the world to work for this.

The Dutch government is providing increasing support to the corrupt and oppressive regime in Indonesia, because the capitalists have their neo-colonial interests. We are proceeding from the interests of the freedom loving, democratic forces in Indonesia, and we direct our solidarity toward what they believe is necessary for their struggle.

What happens in Indonesia -- we want to emphasize this -- is also very significant for the policy of detente. Because, as everyone knows, to maintain shaky, corrupt regimes in the saddle through support from abroad, whether this happens in Latin America, Asia or the Middle East, leads to dangerous tensions in the world which will break out sooner or later. This is why the struggle for freedom by oppressed peoples and at the same time against foreign intervention, is very valuable for peace and detente in the world.

Party Discussions, Party Unity

The discussions which took place in preparation for this congress, showed new inspiration in our party's activity is, thanks to the thoughts and actions of the members of our party. Thus, in recent weeks we once again obtained a picture of the great efforts made by communists and also of the improvements which need to be made in the work of the party as was proposed in the draft resolution: "For a Strong Communist Party of the Netherlands."

With regard to all the draft resolutions, proposals were made during the discussions which the congress can use to improve the resolutions. This will be a substantial result of the functioning of party democracy, which is aimed at reaching unanimous decision making through the assimilation of opinions and experiences.

In addition to a presentation of the decisions and of the preparations for the decisions, we will also provide -- in a document to be published after the congress -- an overview of all the problems which came up during the discussions.

A number of party members insisted on incorporating more subjects in the current draft resolutions. These were often matters on which our party had already taken a position in its action and demand program. Sometimes, they also concerned subjects about which opinion formation within the party is at that moment actively going on.

The previous party leaders have made a conscious choice /against over-centralized action/ (printed in italics), whereby everything is fixed in decisions, which would then lead to general and superficial formulations.

But the chosen plan limits the discussions. On the contrary, it promotes discussions and produces a great deal of information and knowledge which will have to be processed.

Thus, we acquired the experience of how to give our party's unity a new, realistic image. And that is also important for the party's own identity.

How does this unity come about? Based on an agreement on main points of orientation and a deepening of Marxism-Leninism.

Based on the development of democracy within the party.

Based on a wider view of all areas of party activity.

I believe that we have succeeded in taking a first step toward a more multi-sided development of party life.

The continuing growth of the CPN, also in this regard, makes new demands on the work of the party leaders, of district and branch leaderships, and requires a hightening of the quality of that work.

The CPN has a great responsibility for the inspirational behavior of its members in the countless movements and actions. Vice versa, the communists have a great responsibility for their party, for its unity and its strengthening.

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CPN'S HOEKSTRA PLEADS FOR FORMATION OF PROGRESSIVE MAJORITY

Amsterdam DE WAARHEID in Dutch 7 Jun 80 p 1

[Report on opening speech by Henk Hoekstra, president of the CPN, to the 27th Party Congress of the CPN, on 4 June 1980 in Amsterdam: "CPN Strives For Progressive Majority"]

[Text] In a speech to the 27th congress of the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands], which opened Friday morning in Amsterdam, the president of the party, Henk Hoekstra, pleaded for the formation of a progressive majority. Not only to carry on opposition as long as this is necessary, but also to achieve a change in the direction of Dutch politics.

The congress, about which a great deal of interest exists both within the country and abroad, brings together 511 delegates who were chosen at district conferences.

In addition to a discussion of the current political situation and the work of the party, four draft resolutions are to be discussed during the next few days. A new party leadership will also be chosen.

Call on All Progressives

During his address, the full text of which is published on pages 5 and 6, Henk Hoekstra provided an overview of the many activities in which the CPN participated or which it initiated following the 26th congress.

In this context, the communists often achieved coalitions of those who, as peace loving and progressive people, belong together. Hoekstra described this formation of a coalition as a drawing together against the right of the opposition from within the population.

To achieve another government policy, a further uniting of forces will be necessary. The main issue at stake here must be: defense of the standard of living, defense of democracy and a peace loving government policy in which willingness is expressed to make our own contribution to detente and to arms reduction.

At the congress, Hoekstra made an appeal to the members, staffs and leaders of the PvdA [Labor Party], the PPR [Political Party of Radicals] and the PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party] and to progressive groups and people elsewhere, to bring about this progressive majority wherever possible, in actions, in municipal councils and in parliament.

He pleaded for a dialogue on bringing about a progressive alternative for a change in the direction of the government: "Our position here is: we want that. We will do our utmost for this. We are willing to negotiate at all levels about real alternatives for this time and these circumstances."

We can proceed here from the fact, said Hoekstra, that the most active part of the population has created a new political reality which is headed in the direction of the formation of a progressive majority.

Numerous Guests

Before Henk Hoekstra made his speech, Rinus Haks had welcomed all the delegates, visitors and invited guests to the 25th congress. Among them were representatives of communist and labor parties from 24 countries.

From our own country, the congress is being attended by delegations from, among others, the Labor Party, the PPR and the PSP, as well as by representatives of, among others, the VVDM [Union of Conscripts], the Netherlands Women's Movement, the Young Socialists, the ANJV [General Netherlands Youth Federation], the United Resistance 1940-45, the United Action Stop the Neutron Bomb - Stop the Nuclear Arms Race, Pax Christi, a student representation from the LOC [expansion unknown], the National Action Committee for Health Care [LAK], the National Consultative Committee of Front Linesmen in Health Care [LOVEG], the joint action committees from Groningen, the joint action committees from the Rotterdam harbor area, the Committee for Moroccan Workers in the Netherlands [KMAN], and the Democratic Organization of Turkish Workers in the Netherlands [DTIB].

Furthermore, dozens of representatives of daily and weekly newspapers, radio and television are also present at the congress.

Resolutions Changed

Following Henk Hoekstra's address, the congress chose from within its ranks, a presidium which will lead the congress, and a committee which will prepare a speech for the new party leadership. In addition, four committees were chosen to deal with the proposals, made during the discussion, for changing and supplementing the draft resolutions.

Through discussions within the party branches, important changes in the draft texts are being proposed.

The congress was given an overview of the numerous proposals and remarks from the branches.

Intensive Discussion

At the end of his speech, Henk Hoekstra noted that the intensive and broad discussion within the party produced a great deal of material and knowledge which still have to be absorbed.

Thus, we have acquired the experience of how to provide the unity of our party with a new realistic image, which is also important for the party's own identity, said Hoekstra.

"The CPN has a great responsibility for the inspirational behavior of its members in countless movements and actions. And vice versa, the communists have a great responsibility for their party, for its unity and its strengthening." With these words, the president of the CPN ended his speech to thundering applause.

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IDEOLOGICAL RIFT ENDANGERS DEN UYL'S POSITION WITHIN PVDA

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 21 Jun 80 pp 46-47

[Article by Rene de Bok: "The Seeming Unity Within the PvdA"]

[Text] Since the recent PvdA [Labor Party] party council in Amsterdam, opposition leader Den Uyl seems to have the reins of ideological authority firmly in his hands again. But the unity is only apparent. Party chairman Max van den Berg's progressive majority, which Den Uyl despises, is still very much alive. That is reason enough for Den Uyl to renew his flirting with the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal]. His great strength lies in the fact that for the time being the socialists have no alternative to Den Uyl. That is a shaky basis for a revanchist.

At first sight the last few months form a ring of self-confidence for Den Uyl, a man whose position seemed no longer to be unshakable. After he had whistled party chairman Max van den Berg back for the third time in public for displaying all too progressive behavior, Den Uyl decided at the latest party council to exert himself forcefully once more to establish his ideological authority up to the 1981 elections unambiguously. Den Uyl employed a heavy weapon: his serving as standard bearer in the 1981 elections. He refused to do so if the election platform were to contain an anti-NATO plank. The text, "Out of NATO, or nuclear weapons out of the Netherlands," was unacceptable to Den Uyl. That weapon still seems to be effective. But the question is whether another confrontation between the restrained Den Uyl line and the proponents of the progressive majority strategy would be decided as easily in Den Uyl's favor. Den Uyl himself must have his doubts. The very fact that time and time again he has had to wave his portfolio about, stake his position as standard bearer in order to put aside course corrections, only to find later that the strategy he detests is still very much alive, certainly must give him pause. And not without reason, for within the socialist lines the seed of division has sprouted. While Den Uyl is praised outwardly as the man who must give socialism vision in the 1980's, within the party they have

long been less sure of it than formerly. For he interprets the line of parliamentary maneuver, which contents itself with limited effects of a socialist-inspired policy; Den Uyl is the man who has lain down with the belief that even a government with socialists is penned within very narrow bounds by the narrow margins of the present political system. The radicals, whose exponent is Max van den Berg, lurk in the other socialist camp. On the surface Van den Berg appears to be bowing before the authority that Den Uyl still possesses. But anyone who has followed Max van den Berg on his path to the summit of the Groningen program college [the PvdA platform committee] knows that he does not deviate an inch from his line of march. Van den Berg's tactical maneuvers move in the diffuse light of lobbying, cashing in, exploiting small advantages, and hanging on. He realizes quite well that at present he can do little more than follow the Den Uyl line with moderate enthusiasm. A hard confrontation with Den Uyl at this moment would cost him a practically irreparable loss of prestige, and so he is quietly building on to his favorite construction: a progressive majority coalition of the PvdA, PPR [Political Party of Radicals], CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands], PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party], and D'66 [Democrats '66], in which he is only "tolerating" the communists. For the time being the majority strategy appears to be a utopianism, for the D'66, in particular, are not willing to do business with the communists under any circumstances, while broad currents in the PvdA also get the shivers at the thought of any collaboration with the communists. But what seems to be a political absurdity today may well be a reality tomorrow, Max van den Berg thinks, and he is not the man to pursue an illusionist policy.

It cannot be doubted that there are tendencies toward a bipartition in Dutch politics. A bipartition in which the PvdA--perhaps under compulsion--will make a change of course toward the left. At this moment the prospects for PvdA moderation are not unqualifiedly favorable; the CDA is on the rise electorally, while the PvdA must call in its debts. On the other hand, a trend-like movement from conservative to progressive is beginning to take shape. The progressive parties--among which we shall include, for the sake of convenience, the PvdA, D'66, PSP, PPR, and CPN--would have 73 seats now according to the latest opinion polls as compared to 67 in 1977. The more conservatively oriented parties [for convenience, all the other parties] have dropped during that period from 83 to 77.

Against the background of a PvdA that is losing popularity, for the socialists cooperation of the PvdA with the small leftist parties is not only interesting but in the long run a form of self-preservation as well. That is Max van den Berg's first bet. His second is concentrated on the mentality and voting behavior of the younger generation. Here is speculating on signals from the public that have already been put into words by Nia Beckers, leader of the PPR parliamentary group: "The politics of today is too much concerned with itself and is drowning in self-satisfaction and its own aspirations to greatness. There is something fundamentally wrong with today's politics. It no longer offers any solutions. People no longer believe in it." Max van den Berg is convinced that

"defeatism in society" will create a reaction that will also inspire a new élan in the PvdA, a PvdA which will then begin to defend itself in the political arena as an action party and will write off the "politics of bureaucracy" in The Hague. That is a perspective on the future that does not yet belong to the field of political realities today. At the moment Den Uyl still has the reins firmly in his hands. In the parliamentary group and in the party his word still carries more authority than that of his rivals.

But it must certainly be oppressive for Den Uyl that his authority rests on the fact that the socialists temporarily lack a reasonable alternative to Den Uyl. Den Uyl stands at a lonely elevation in the PvdA hierarchy; since the departure of such coming men as Duisenberg, former minister of finance, and Pronk, former minister of development aid, for greater positions of honor, anemia prevails at the PvdA summit. Compared to the visionless apparatchiks with which the PvdA is still abundantly supplied, Den Uyl is an outstanding politician whose like is unknown in the Dutch left, the only acceptable candidate for standard bearer. Lack of another standard bearer candidate of significance provides Den Uyl with a monopoly position from which he can dictate the election platform along his own line. But anyone that entertains the notion that he is in no further danger at all as the 1981 elections approach underestimates the strength of the opposition forces within the PvdA. Den Uyl's latitude within his party is much more limited than the verbal platform on which Van Agt moves within the CDA. In the CDA the dissident forces have been defeated and disarmed; within the PvdA the opponents contribute to the discussion at the highest level concerning the line to be followed. Within the CDA, Van Agt can make statements that can hardly be misunderstood concerning the relative untouchability of social benefits without its doing him any irreparable damage. In the PvdA, Den Uyl cannot permit himself any such freedom of speech. He is threatened with acute danger by the detailed working out of the platform draft. That draft states as its point of departure that the PvdA chooses, depending on the financial possibilities, the following order of priorities: 1) Restoring jobs, 2) maintaining the collective provisions [i.e., welfare, etc.], and 3) maintaining buying power, with priority for the lowest-paid. Discussion of this draft platform has yet to take place in the PvdA, but already the party committee has designated that order of priorities as not subject to amendment. If the very optimistic growth percentage of 2 percent proves unattainable, Den Uyl will be unable to escape the observation that maintenance of the buying power is an illusion. And then he will be over head and ears in problems, for the PvdA rank and file will not be grateful to him for that observation. Den Uyl realizes that his monopoly position--as the only acceptable candidate to put up against a man like Van Agt--does not give him the freedom to wander very far from the party committee and the rank and file. And he understands, too, that each new threat to give his position as standard bearer provides nourishment for the forces that want to maneuver Den Uyl into a lonely right wing within the PvdA. And therefore Den Uyl is exerting every effort to draw the CDA into a new two-party combination again. Den Uyl's reasons--quite in his style--are twofold: on the

one hand he needs the CDA to be able to take revenge on the CDA and on himself. It was the arrogance of strength that led him to make demands during the last cabinet formation to which the CDA (purely from a sense of self-preservation) could not accede. Den Uyl bears the blame for having handed down his own sentence to be leader of the opposition. In the PvdA that has been held against him--in complete silence--for four long years. On the other hand, he knows that he is diverting attention from internal tensions when he calls upon the CDA to show evidence of Christian-democratic progressiveness. It is a question of socialist tactics. And for Den Uyl, also a question of political survival.

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CNV CRITICAL OF CDA POLICIES

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD in Dutch 21 Jun 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Piet Goosen and Nico van Grieken: "CNV, the Tooth-Gnashing Conscience of the CDA"]

[Text] What is going on in the Christian camp? "Estrangement," "Gulf between the CNV [National Federation of Christian Workers in the Netherlands] and the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal]," the newspapers say.
The friendly CNV chairman, Harm van der Meulen, is sorely disappointed in the CDA: "In its practical policy the CDA deviates very widely from what the CNV represents. More and more people are having difficulty with that. Particularly older people, AR [Anti-Revolutionary] in heart and soul, sometimes sit in our membership meetings with tears in their eyes. They ask themselves, 'How can such things be? The same values and standards, and yet so far apart?" The CNV is calling the CDA to order. At this season of budget debates, such shots across the bow are no rarity. But the CNV is now putting the extra-heavy charge of "gospel foundations" behind those shots.

Van der Meulen: "Politicians talk about compromises, co-operation with the VVD, and pragmatic positions. I find that this is not in accord with the loftiness of the principles. If you do that kind of thing, I say, 'Don't play around that way with the Gospel; don't attach that sort of thing to it!'"

Harm van der Meulen puts the Gospel in direct relation to his demand for maintaining the buying power of the lowest paid. His verdict on Prime Minister Van Agt's cabinet's policy: "I stand amazed at his lack of understanding."

Senator De Gaay Fortman has a very precise feel for what this governing coalition lacks: a critical view of society.

CDA Vice Chairman Dr Sytze Faber: "That is why this cabinet can never be the stakes in the elections."

On buying power, deductions, gospel values, and the nagging and tooth-gnashing conscience:

It happens but rarely that the National Federation of Christian Workers in the Netherlands addresses a Christian political party Bible in hand and reminds it of its gospel foundations. When that happens, there is something very wrong with the relationship, for the Biblical truths are not to be lightly dealt with. Before the war, and again in the 1950's, the CNV called the ARP [Antirevolutionary Party] to task more than once, but not since then.

There is something very wrong again now, for the headlines report "CDA and CNV Grow Apart," "Estrangement," and "Ever Greater Gulf Between CNV and CDA." Ex-Minister De Gaay Fortman adds in TROUW, "CNV *rightly* dissatisfied with CDA." The CNV, in the person of Chairman Harm van der Meulen, the usually so friendly advocate of the harmony model, is really angry. Gone are the good relations of a few years ago. In December 1978 CNV member Wil Albeda called up then CNV President Jan Lanser with the modest question of whether he could or might accept the position of minister of social affairs in a Christian-Liberal cabinet. Lanser said yes, and Albeda took his friend Lou de Graaf, vice chairman of the CNV, with him as secretary of state. That is indicative of the good relations of that time.

Since then relations between the CDA and the CNV have deteriorated perceptibly with the '81 Plan ("wrong principles," Harm van der Meulen says), the deductions from social security benefits, and in general the moderation that allegedly is or is going to be imposed on the wrong population groups.

Now that the economic problems are getting worse almost day by day and the choice of the ever more far-reaching solutions--insofar as they are being proposed--is becoming more painful, tension is increasing between the government parties, CDA and VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy], and along with it the tension between the CDA and the CNV. Within the Christian party and the Christian labor union the fever is getting higher. It is becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the CNV leadership's faithful followers to explain to the membership the special bond with the CDA "based on gospel principles."

Harm van der Meulen: "The gospel values are important in all our social dealings--in marriage, on the job, and in politics. We have found that in its practical policies the CDA deviates quite widely from what the CNV stands for. Increasing numbers of people at our membership meetings are having trouble with that. Particularly older people, AR heart and soul, sometimes sit with tears in their eyes. These people ask themselves, "How can such things be? The same values and standards, and yet so far apart."

Furious

For the time being, the bottled-up tensions are being relieved in a furious attack by Harm van der Meulen on the CDA, and particularly on its leader, Prime Minister Van Agt. In that attack Harm van der Meulen bases his demand for maintaining the buying power of the lowest-paid *directly*, on the gospel message: *care for the weak*.

Friday evening 2 weeks ago Prime Minister Van Agt declared in person on television that the *chance* exists that welfare benefits will drop in the next year.

Harm van der Meulen, scornfully: "He was talking then, let me say it plainly, about a technical projection! Talking technically, scientifically, about a matter that will affect a million people. I stood amazed at his lack of comprehension. When you turn such things off with a technical projection, that is a shock. You have to have a feeling for what a thing like that does to a public of millions. So clean--if a scientist were to say a thing like that--but a prime minister who has to define policy! That won't do. I think he should have said nothing at all about it. It irritates everybody."

Here and there the idea has come up, as it has at ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD, that this was just another brilliant bit of higher political strategy: Van Agt sends up a trial balloon to test public opinion and Albeda quickly and angrily pulls it back down; for that is how it happened. Harm van der Meulen denies that; Albeda was *perplexed* and really angry when he got back from Luxembourg. In the Second Chamber last week he stated that welfare benefits and the minimum wage would remain in step with the CAO [collective labor agreement] wages. It would be pretty wild to introduce changes there, for only this past December a law was passed confirming and perpetuating this coupling, according to the CNV chairman.

Motion

In the Second Chamber debate a motion was made by De Vries, Van Rooijen (both of the CDA), and De Korte (VVD), in which the government was called upon to do *"everything possible"* to maintain the buying power of minimum family incomes in 1980. The motion was made for the purpose of dispelling the uncertainty that the Van Agt government had allowed to come about on the matter.

But, according to Harm van der Meulen, it *increased* the uncertainty. For in March the CDA went along with the wage law, on the condition that the social minima and th minimum wage were to be maintained. Van der Meulen says, now really angry, "I feel that the CDA must hold itself to that. The motion is in conflict with it. In a couple of weeks there will be so many different interpretations of it that it is no longer workable. The CDA ought to have said, 'It is obvious that the buying power will be maintained,' and then something to the effect that 'a bit more will have to be done with the higher incomes.' The CDA owes that to its supporters. It was promised in March, and we are going to hold the CDA to it.

"If you analyze it well, Van Agt has let the maintenance of the buying power go and Albeda will do what he can to maintain it; that is the difference. And the CDA motion is unclear. It seems to be very difficult to achieve clarity in politics. It means that for many people the uncertainty remains."

Bert de Vries, who introduced the motion, says, "Van der Meulen rightly sees that the CDA and the CNV have the same Christian foundation--care for the weaker members of society. But in theory that does not mean maintaining the buying power for the lowest paid for all time; I would put a question mark beside that."

He does not see what is wrong with his motion. He estimates that for this year there is still room for maintaining the buying power. But still you cannot formulate that *too rigidly*, for it is possible that economic developments during the last half of this year will be too unfavorable. After the summer recess the cabinet and parliament will weigh the matter once more, if, e.g., prices should get out of hand. For that matter, De Vries says that he did not intend his motion to weaken the CDA position of last March. But, in keeping with good political practice, there is a little "leeway" in his words. Even Albeda, after all, did not mean to give a real guarantee to maintain buying power.

Wrong

Harm van der Meulen: "What he is saying is that it is quite possible that in the coming reappraisal it may not be possible to maintain the buying power of the lowest-paid. I say, 'The CDA must not leave the lowest-paid holding the bag in 1980 *in any reappraisal whatever*.' If that is done, the reappraisal is wrong. After all, there are still higher incomes, too. In politics, lower incomes and welfare benefits can be cut very quickly, but there has been talk for years about topping off the highest incomes. What is that all about? If the highest incomes are pruned back, there will still be people with over 100,000 guilders left. The lower-paid people say, 'I have to work 5 years for that.'"

Dr Sytze Faber, member of the Second Chamber and vice chairman of the CDA, says, "I go right along with him there. The topping off of the highest incomes must be brought back from limbo."

Faber is positive on coupling of benefits for non-workers with the wage curve of workers. "That is essential. Uncoupling would almost be an uncoupling of society. If you cannot guarantee jobs, you cannot make those who are without work through no fault of their own pay for it. That is inadmissible. To me that is one of the most essential points. I cannot believe that there is too little willingness to moderate wages and salaries. That would be too passive a position for the government to take."

Harm van der Meulen can easily go along with that. But Faber (ARP), loyalist and dissident, is not the whole CDA. The "blood groups" KVP (Catholic

People's Party] and CHU [Christian Historical Union] also belong to it--a watering down of principles and original positions. And then the CDA is in the governing coalition with the VVD: double dilution. And there is confusion within the CNV. Three hundred thousand people, 60 percent of [illegible] vote for the CDA (182,000). Besides these there are the several hundred thousand CDA voters in the FNV [Netherlands Trade Union Federation], or rather the NKV [Netherlands Catholic Workers' Federation], but that labor union has been *given up* politically since the religious basis for collective action was thrown overboard; between the CDA and the FNV (NKV) there is only a business relationship, such as also exists between the PvdA [Labor Party] and the CNV.

Relations

Prof dr D.Th. Kuyper, vice chairman of the ARP and professor of political science at the Free University, wrote a report last year on the new position the CDA is in and its relations with social organizations. In it he sketched the way relationships have changed in both Catholic and Protestant circles as a result of all sorts of fusion processes. The traditional groupings have been broken up, and the question now is how the CDA stands with regard to the social organizations, especially those with a Christian-inspired goal. The report began by stating that exception should be taken to the old antithesis concept (confrontation between Christians and non-believers). The conclusion was drawn that the CDA ought to have good business relations with non-Christian organizations in which Christian social views manifest themselves, such as the CNV, the Christian Employers' Union (NCW), the Christian farmers and gardeners, and the Christian middle class. These organizations meet regularly in the Association of Christian Social Organizations--in which rejection of the class struggle finds expression--and therefore a regular discussion between the CDA and that association has been agreed upon. There are also direct discussions with these organizations.

Solidarity

Now what typifies Christian (social) thought--a vague concept to many? According to Prof Kuyper, there is always an attempt to eliminate the faults from capitalist society, from liberalism, which is too individualistic, and from socialism, which is too collectivistic. Attempts to get society to organize itself with care for the weak and opportunities for individual development, which are threatened by collectivism. It is not for nothing that stewardship, justice, and solidarity are chapters in the CDA program of principles.

But Prof Kuyper says the question is how you identify who the weaker members of society are. Historically it is easy to understand that the CNV meant the *workers* by that term. "And that is certainly the usual profile of Christian social thinking in the CNV." It is noteworthy that in the very recent past the NKV and the KVP have drifted apart, and the CNV and the ARP have maintained their special ties. Prof Kuyper explains this by

the great differences between Catholics and Protestants. In the Catholic organizations in the past the bond was formed by the church and its doctrinal authority. The binding agent was ecclesiastic authority. When the ecclastic authority withered away in the 1960's there was insufficient internal cement to perpetuate the relationships. Centrifugal forces easily drove the Catholic organizations apart.

In Protestant circles, on the other hand, sovereignty in one's own sphere prevailed much more; the organizations felt much more responsibility on their own ground from the beginning, and what is more they have continued to look for modifications of their structures. The special bond between the Christian organizations was and is rather an internal bond.

Another factor is that in contrast to trade union history, the KVP, which from 1920 until after the war had been more progressive than the more consolidating ARP (under Colijn), was gradually pushed toward the conservative side, while the ARP on the other hand moved more in a progressive direction; it is the "law" of the retarding lead and the stimulating lag that is described in Jan Romein's writings.

In a period of growing prosperity all sorts of confrontations manifest themselves less sharply, but now unpleasant choices have to be made, and since the big KVP outvotes the smaller Christian parties in the CDA to a certain extent, the CNV can no longer recognize itself in CDA policy, let alone the cabinet's policy.

Harm van der Meulen sums up the points of disagreement: uncertainty about maintaining the buying power; uncertainty about perpetuating the coupling of welfare benefits to general wage movements; capital gains sharing (an idea born long ago in the Christian camp, but one on which there are still differences of opinion within the CDA); the organization of the social security and welfare institutions, which, in the CNV's opinion, must remain in the hands of the social partners; the draft of a legal aid bill, which takes no account of the free legal aid that labor unions offer their members (an important factor in recruiting members); the wage regulation ("seems to me to be in conflict with the CDA concept of decentralized responsibility"); and the illegal foreign workers (in the churches).

Van der Meulen: "We have not so much made a demand on the CDA. We have made it on behalf of the illegals; you cannot send them away. We made that demand expressly on the basis of gospel values. When you consider the martyrdom of the illegal workers, I call that un-Christian and unsocial. You must always attach a great deal of weight to Biblical ideas.

"We want a Christian-inspired social policy. The CDA says that, too, but perhaps we are pinning too great expectations on that. Politicans from the CDA point out that the CDA's responsibilities are different from those of the CNV. That may well be true, but on the other hand, if you say, 'Our foundation is the Bible,' I think that is the clincher. Then the chance exists that the foundation will not bear the load."

Employers

We never hear the Christian employers complain about a split with the CDA. According to Prof Kuyper, that is because a workers' organization, with all its appearance of power, is more vulnerable than people usually think. The CNV still has the idea of obedience to authority, but that is now being made very difficult. It is obvious that the CNV is disappointed that the CDA is governing in coalition with the VVD, and CNV members Albeda and De Graaf can do little to change that. Conversely, the NCW would be disappointed with a CDA-PvdA cabinet. Furthermore, the NCW is organized on more businesslike lines. The CNV has long felt more need to make public appeals to the Christian social tradition.

"The CNV is trying to make proposals on the basis of the harmony model [in contrast to the class-struggle model] which are attainable, and is disappointed when they do not go through. The CDA needs to show considerable understanding for this," says Prof Kuyper.

Harm van der Meulen: "Yes, I think the CDA policy fits in better with the Christian employers. The politicians talk about compromises, collaboration with the VVD, and pragmatic positions. I feel that this does not fit in with the loftiness of the principles. If you do that kind of thing, I say, 'Don't play around that way with the Gospel; don't attach that sort of thing to it!'

"In politics, too, it is said that the CNV acts in the interest of the workers and the CDA in the general interest, but those concepts cannot be defined completely. Whatever you think, the CNV actually looks beyond its own interests. With the CDA it is usually a matter of the party's interests. I think, by the way, that politics is becoming more rigid; all through society you see a tendency toward hardening of positions; I do not know how it comes about."

Round-faced and with an abundance of blond curls, he looks a bit Burgundian and admits to having a "Roman head." He is a member of the ARP, but not a somber one. A happy AR man from a Calvinist background--a rarity. Harm van der Meulen put in his military service in Indonesia. "I learned there that KVP members are believers, too. At home there had been a different view of that."

He is a supporter of the CDA. "Protestants and Catholics are getting together on the political and societal level; it would be ideal if they could do so on the ecclesiastical plane." Concessively, "It is a wonder that three parties that have been denouncing one another for years are cooperating. We are now having labor pains."

Affinity

In spite of all his criticism, the suggestion that the CDA must overthrow the cabinet does not pass his lips. "The credibility of this cabinet is dropping below the zero point," he said at a press conference, and to

ELSEVIERS WEEKBLAD he added that he was "a supporter of as broad a cabinet as possible, directed at the big problems that we have. I think that the CDA program shows more affinity with the PvdA program, at least socio-economically. For that reason a CDA-PvdA cabinet would have been better.

"How this cabinet with all of its faults came into being? As a result of the Labor Party's excessive demands," says Harm van der Meulen. "It seems to me Den Uyl should have stuck his neck out then, rather than now in connection with the PvdA's ideological election platform."

Senator de Gaay Fortman understands the feeling of estrangement in the CNV quite well. The fact that the CNV members can no longer recognize themselves in the CDA's actions in parliament comes from the fact that something is lacking in a governing coalition with the Liberals. "From a social point of view, they are doing things that are not really too bad, but what such a combination lacks is a critical view of society. They forget that you have to keep on searching out flaws, because no matter that government you have, no matter how good it is, there will always be people that fall through the cracks," Prof De Gaay Fortman said in TROUW.

Dr Sytze Faber "agrees completely" with that, and for that reason according to him this cabinet can "never be the stakes in the elections." He called it "unthinkable that the CDA differs in principle from that part of the labor movement that calls itself Christian." The CDA, he says, gobbles up energy and puts a heavy mortgage on the relationship. The coalition partner, too, demands its toll. "We have a very small majority. The delegation sees that as a problem. That makes it difficult to go around shifting boundaries."

Prof Kuyper, too, can see himself in De Gaay Fortman's words. "What I miss in that cabinet is inspiration. The spark does not get across the gap."

Shots

The cabinet is occupied with the budget discussions, the CDA is naturally speaking up on that on all fronts, and the CNV is firing shots across the bow harder this time than ever before. Now it is putting the extra charge of the "gospel message" behind those shots. It appeals to the CDA member's consciences, and in doing so the CNV itself hungers for recognition (according to Sytze Faber). The CNV has thus become the nagging or tooth-gnashing conscience of the CDA, and this brings about extra tensions in the government camp.

Would Harm van der Meulen rejoice in early elections?

"I approach that quite pragmatically. The problems for 1981 are so great that it is practically impossible that they will get through them. For that matter, they say that themselves at The Hague."

Does he consider a recognizable Christian social policy possible at all in a CDA-VVD cabinet?

"I do not know. In any case, the CNV is trying to make a good CDA out of it. We must be careful not to go the way of the Christian parties in Germany and Italy. If the gospel foundation gets to be no more than a treacherous swamp, you have to drop the C for Christian."

Double Functions

Earlier, the bond between the CNV and the ARP was much closer, and was more or less formalized by the fact that many CNV chairmen, secretaries, or central committee members functioned at the same time from the benches of the Second Chamber: Stapelkamp, Van Elbergen, Ruppert, and Boersma, to name a few. These double functions disappeared about 10 years ago because of internal tensions and also from sheer physical self-preservation. Prof Kuyper calls it a symptom of the process described earlier of breaking the formal ties and redirecting the accent to particular functions.

But at the same time it has become more difficult for the CNV to call the CDA to order. The Friday before Whitsunday all the leading CDA politicians from the cabinet, the parliamentary group, and the central committee, 20 strong, visited the CNV at the urgent invitation of Harm van der Meulen in order to discuss the many points of difference. It was a frank and friendly talk, but nothing came of it. In accordance with good Dutch custom, it was decided to form a study group to *take inventory* of all the points of difference. There was obviously no thought of solving them.

Harm van der Meulen is "not opposed" to the general idea of moderation, but he is opposed to the manner in which it is being handled. "If you cut back the unemployment benefits, you have to cut back even more on the higher incomes of those who are working. Solidarity must remain; that is a very crucial point."

He will not talk about 1981--that worry will keep--but this year "you must not put a burden on the lowest incomes. I really do not see anything happening this year to make the buying power of the social minima and of the minimum wage drop below the zero line. There is not a hair on my curly head that doubts that the CDA will make the other choice," he says optimistically.

Then, urgently, "We will naturally continue to follow it with our eyes wide open. Certainly we will. Should the CDA actually go along with lowering the buying power, it will certainly be at the top of the list of topics for discussion."

8815
CSO: 3105

MILITARY PROPOSES 1980-1983 INTENSIVE ARMAMENT PROGRAMS

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 2 Jul 80 p 7

[Article by Jean-Pierre Gattoni: "Balance of Military Forces in Europe--4.2 Billion is the Price of Credibility for the Swiss Army"]

[Text] "With the weaponry we have today, the cost in blood would be high in the event of invasion of our territory." It is the chief of the general staff, the "boss" of the Swiss army and commander of the corps, Hans Senn, who holds this view. With the increasing threat of war and the armaments efforts being made by the Warsaw Pact armies, Swiss military leaders are of the opinion that the plan for strengthening our army should be pursued unrelentingly, with a priority for defense of the air space and antitank response, which are vital for repelling any possible enemy "breakthoughs" with a chance of success. In this connection, the confederation will not remain idle: It is to invest 4.2 billion, in principle, in the next three armaments programs, for the years 1980, 1981 and 1982.

The commanders of our army made their views on the political-military situation and the urgent steps to be taken in strengthening the Swiss army in the course of a seminar organized by the chief of the general staff. In the eyes of our military leaders, it is obvious that the conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact are continuing to be strengthened massively with new equipment, above all mechanized and airborne materiel. The balance between the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc in Europe is thus difficult to maintain.

Faced with this threat which is developing and increasing, Switzerland must strengthen and refine its capacity to respond in three directions:

- Introduction of a mobile system of Rapier guided antiaircraft missiles, a British system designed for the protection of mechanized units, and replacement of the 63 fire control apparatus with the Skyguard model. These two purchases are provided for, moreover, in the 1980 armament program.

- Replacement of the latest Venoms still in service with a new Tiger airplane series. This is included in the 1981 armament program.

- Strengthening of the antitank warfare potential of the Landwehr infantry. This involves the purchase here of Dragon guided antitank missiles and winged ammunition for the tanks, all these expenditures being provided for in the 1981 armament program.

Truthfully, it is a question for the Swiss army of achieving sufficient aptitude in exhausting and destroying enemy forces, maintaining effective response capability, and substantially increasing defensive power.

In this connection, it has become absolutely urgent to equip the Landwehr infantry assigned to the frontier zones with antitank weapons as efficient as those of the elite troops. These units are entrusted with the all out defense of the sectors near the frontier.

Awaiting the Combat Tank

The improvement of air cover is also a priority postulate for the commanders of our army. Such coverage is the basic condition for freedom of action for the mechanized units. For example the mobile system for the Rapier, a guided antiaircraft missile, will be purchased for the use of three mechanized divisions. The F-5 Tiger combat planes (a new series) will serve to complete the air cover. To this will be added the new 75 Skyguard-type apparatus, a very modern fire control mechanism, for the 35 mm DCA [antiaircraft] guns.

The defense capability of the Swiss army could not be adequately completed without the most modern antitank weapons. The introduction of the 77 Dragon surface-to-surface guided antitank missile, with a range of 1,000 meters, considerably intensifies response capacity, awaiting acquisition of the new combat tank.

This response capability for our army and its efficiency are vital, for it must be realized that if ever Switzerland were attacked, enemy combat tanks would represent the main land attack weapon.

The Goodwill of the Parliament

It should be stressed that each of these projects with a foreign source includes participation by the Swiss economy, in various forms. For example for the second Tiger plane series, final assembly at Emmen is planned. The third Dragon series will be manufactured under license in Switzerland. These are two examples of participation.

It is, however, important to understand that none of these purchases, essential for the army, will become a reality unless the parliament approves the 1980 and 1981 armament programs, which are relatively burdensome. If it does, the principle military commanders can be satisfied that the basic elements in the master plan for the army in 1980 are thus assured. The plain question can thus be posed to the

politicians? In view of the political-military situation which is becoming more acute, are they aware that the Swiss army must absolutely retain its credibility? It is obviously the military who are posing this question.

Future Armament Plans

More or less precise information is available about the content of the future armament programs, for 1980 through 1983. Naturally, only the 1980 armament has already been approved by the Federal Council.

1980 program (1,555,000,000): 1.2 billion for the Rapier, 198 million for the Skyguard, 94 million for the 1m/8.1 cm star shell, 39 million for transmission equipment, 32 million for medical vehicles.

1981 program (1,440,000,000): 765 million for the Tiger, 400 million for the Dragon, 98 million for the air school, 100 million for winged ammunition for tanks, and 80 million for air-to-air guided missiles (SIWA).

1982 program (1,220,000,000): 250 million for 10.5 cm artillery guns, 230 million for transport helicopters, 150 million for Maverick guided missiles, 150 million for the low altitude bomb, 260 million for cross-country trucks, plus radar equipment for landing and low altitudes and camouflage equipment.

Program beginning in 1983 (priority projects): new combat tank (3 billion), antitank defense on the regimental level, 15.5 cm artillery ammunition, artillery fire control, DCA guided missile (individual), and all-purpose light trucks.

5157
CSO: 3100

DISK OPENS SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 26 Jun 80 p 5

[Text] The DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions] seventh general council has begun work on its national and international platform. The general council meeting is being attended by representatives of every known democratic people's organization and leftist party in Turkey, but also present are a great number of union officials from international and foreign organizations.

On the first day of the general council meeting, revolutionary anthems and calls for unity among delegates and unified action against fascism's attacks on workers' rights were repeated again and again.

Problems stemming from the failure of unions that are participating in the meeting to deposit the fees required for delegates have been solved. While all the delegates of unions affiliated with DISK participated in the proceedings, not one disagreement or problem on this issue arose.

In the opening speech of the seventh general council meeting, which was convened early, DISK Chairman General Abdullah Basturk stressed that the general council is beginning its work in an atmosphere in which the fall of the reactionary, repressive, minority Justice Party government, which is a continuum of the National Front, is being discussed. He said, "The Demirel government is following fascist plans. It is protecting and defending fascists. I must repeat, however, that the fascists will surely be drowned in the blood they spill."

Basturk spoke at length of developments in Turkey and in the world and emphasized that fascists spew forth death among all the working masses without discriminating between progressives and revolutionaries. He said, in summary:

"Fascist organizations, obsessed with the desire to take over the government following a civil war, have, today, filled all the official organizations and government businesses with fascist militants. While all the fascist attacks are apparent, state terrorism is gradually increasing.

Torture is quickly becoming common. Completely sound persons taken in for questioning are being killed under torture or are disabled when released. State terrorism reached its apex in the Izmir Inciraltı incident. Torture and chauvinistic repression are increasing. Antidemocratic practices and assimilation policies are burgeoning. The number of persons held in prison is over 60,000."

As Basturk continued his speech, he pointed out that, despite the repression, imprisonment, and attacks, DISK is continuing its work on every issue. Basturk spoke of DISK's work and its internal problems. He said, in summary:

"We tested every possibility so that more of the people could participate in the struggle. We set aside differences in ideology and in principle regarding fascist attacks and crimes and proposed unified action with Turk-Is [Turkish Confederation of Labor]. The Turk-Is administration, however, chose to surrender to the state of the reactionary.

"Some union officials engaged in actions, in the name of unity, that brought harm to DISK unity and to the working class struggle. During discussions, rather than employ the method of persuasion, they criticized and remained obstinate.

"The basis for organizational work is the work of the organization's bodies. This is the method that was selected as the backbone for leadership within the union struggle. The bodies' inability to function spells a breakdown and defeat.

"Union democracy means that union members choose the persons and bodies that will represent and administer the union at every level and that union members participate in an effective manner in union decisions. Democracy and centralization are inseparable. When it comes to doing our job, we do not place emphasis of one of these aspects over the other.

"Today, what is wanted is to spread support for the idea that it is sufficient to give specific unions a mathematical percentage of representation in the confederation administration so that union unity will grow. A point we must stress is that it is principles, not personalities, that are needed to solidify union unity.

"We will repel attacks on our unity by bringing to life the principle of unity at a higher level and by overcoming errors.

"Today, DISK is the leader of the economic and democratic struggle in Turkey. The clearest evidence of this is the overwhelming number of DISK members involved in the workers' movement in Turkey over the past 13 years. At this moment, more than 40,000 DISK members are on strike. The days ahead will be difficult and troubled. There is, however, no place for being intimidated, for indecision, or for submission."

Boran's Speech

In a speech presented to the general council, TIP [Turkish Labor Party] Chairman General Behice Boran reported that "basic unity is part of the left's platform, and ensuring political and union unity on significant issues is more important than creating a front." He said, "Political unity has not as yet been ensured. It is not possible to say that it will be within a short time. Necessary steps, however, have been taken. It is important that time not be wasted. Speed is of the essence. It is our hope that union and political unity will be achieved as quickly as possible."

Boran stated that "it is wrong to attempt to burden DISK with the function of a political party." He went on, "It is not natural to look at DISK or to behave as if DISK were a party. It is also unnatural to say that DISK is not a political organization and to work so that differences of opinion within DISK or the formation of groups resulting from differences are not permitted. There must be absolutely no doubt in anyone's mind that the mixing of different views and inclinations in a crucible produces very positive results."

Kacmaz' Speech

TSIP [Turkish Socialist Workers Party] Chairman General Ahmet Kacmaz asserted that, at the present time, grave responsibilities and duties fall upon DISK. He said, "One of the important functions of DISK, which has acquired the goal of defending the socialist system, is to accelerate the creation of unity within the developing socialist movement." In his speech, Kacmaz spoke of the emphasis on forming a united democratic front against fascism. He said, in summary:

"This DISK congress must not be content with stressing the importance of democratic unity against fascism. Concrete goals and concepts and methods of a developing front must be presented to the DISK administration. DISK's hand must be grabbed quickly, because it is one of fascism's major targets. The fascist danger is lying in wait at the door."

Timisi's Speech

TBP [Turkish Unity Party] Chairman General Mustafa Timisi stated that the massacre of revolutionaries and democrats that are putting into practice a variant plan of the Indonesian model in Turkey is being programmed, to be carried out not in a single night, but within a specific period of time. He said, "Every minute we delay in our shoulder-to-shoulder struggle costs us the blood of one revolutionary. Death and despair are at the door. Unity is necessary. History will not forgive delay."

Ecevit's Speech

In a speech sent to the general council, RPP [Republican People's Party] Chairman General Bulent Ecevit pointed out that the DISK general council had convened at a time when a free democracy and democratic workers' rights are face to face with severe dangers. He said, in summary:

"The economic model that has been put into operation this year seeks to increase the participation of large capital in the economy and within the state administration to its highest level. Such a model can only funct' .. at the cost of increasing and intensifying the exploitation that exists in the nation and of choking off the paths of the workers' search for their rights. The natural result of this is the end of democracy. It is for this reason that the subject of constitutional changes that will bring about a change in the system of government along with a new economic model has been put on the agenda in Turkey. The current economic model's international ties are such that the Turkish people will be deprived of the possibility of making political choices, which are necessary in a multiparty democratic system. In fact, all sorts of plans have been tried for months in order to prevent parliament from doing its work.

"In this situation, it becomes a national duty of importance to our independence to save and nurture our free democracy and to cultivate its ability to function and to operate honestly on every level."

At the general council meeting, a great number of representatives of democratic people's organizations and representatives of international and foreign countries' unions also took the floor.

Andas Chosen Council of State Chairman

Because guest speeches were scheduled into the evening, a break was taken to elect a council of state and commission. A single list for both the council of state and the commission signed by all the unions was drafted. Ertan Andas was chosen council of state chairman, and the council of state consists of the following:

Durmus Ali Yalniz, Ekrem Aydin, Ahmet Tas, Sumer Tuna, Ersin Adli, and Ersay Sen.

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HIGH PRICES MAKING MEAT UNAFFORDABLE

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 19 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by Kamil Basaran]

[Text] Ankara--Society of Veterinary Doctors Chairman Assistant Professor Dr Tahir Hatipoglu asserted that meat prices will remain exorbitant because the butchering of young lambs is gradually increasing. He said, "Don't be surprised if meat prices reach a thousand liras per kilogram in the near future."

Dr Hatipoglu noted that an average of 4 million young lambs are butchered each year in Turkey and told a Hurriyet News Agency correspondent that "those who slaughter lambs in essence slaughter destitute citizens." He stated:

"Animal protein is very important to human lives. Humans must obtain adequate protein in order to sustain good health. A minimum of 720 grams of meat per day must enter the home of a family with three children. Today, the price of meat fluctuates between 250 and 350 liras per kilogram. Low-income and destitute citizens who find it difficult to purchase meat even at this time will not be able to buy any meat at all in the near future. This is because the butchering of young lambs has, in fact, reached the state of a national disaster. It is nothing other than a massacre.

"Not too long ago, if you had predicted that the price of meat would rise to 250-350 liras per kilogram, most people would have told you that 'you are crazy,' and would have ignored what you had said. Today, however, meat has truly become a food for the wealthy. If the butchering of young lambs is not prevented, meat will not cost less than a thousand liras per kilogram. This is because we continue to be a society of consumers, not producers.

"Forty-five percent of the meat consumed in the world is beef and veal. In Turkey, the percentage is 30 percent. Whereas 9 percent of the meat eaten in the world is mutton, the figure in Turkey is 36 percent. In that case, the primary means to increase meat production in our country is to increase

the production of mutton. In order to do so, the slaughtering of young lambs must be prevented.

"In the spring, 20 to 25-day-old lambs are killed. I wish to state, with sadness, that the 42 million sheep in Turkey will be exterminated through the early butchering of 4 million of the 9 million lambs that are born each year.

"Mutton dishes have become traditional in the Thrace, Marmara, and Aegean regions in particular. However, 95 percent of the tissue that is called 'meat' is water prior to birth and 75 to 80 percent of the tissue is water in nursing lambs. The concentration of protein in the meat increases as lambs mature. Therefore, those who are addicted to lamb are living on meat that is inadequate in regard to protein.

"I wish to point out that lambs that are butchered 4 to 5 months after they are weaned will weigh 35 to 40 kilograms and will provide twice as much meat. I urge that immediate measures be taken to prevent the killing of young lambs."

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August 27 1980